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Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000f9ea>

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TEACHER EDUCATION IN ALBANIA

Past – present - future

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Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Education

The Open University

Date of submission: 23rd December 2003

Date of award: 17th August 2004

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Abstract

In this thesis I describe and analyze the development of teacher education in Albania from the 1830s, known as the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare**(National Awakening) period, all the way to the present. This focus is highlighted against the general background of Albanian politics and education as a whole. I investigate the historical, social and political factors influencing the development of teacher education, its structure, changes in the teacher education curriculum to respond to the changing political contexts, as well as changes of the status of teachers in different periods.

I show that education, status and supply of teachers is a very useful litmus paper issue which reflects almost every tension and problem besetting the Albanian state over the past century or more such as its economic poverty, its cultural and political marginality, its problems of geographical, religious and linguistic division, its uncertain borders and exposure to foreign exploitation. My ambition and determination is to place Albania within a powerful west European tradition.

The thesis is divided into three sections: *The first section* examines the literature relating to developments in teacher education in other countries as well as the underpinning issues. I introduce six guiding concepts developed from the literature with regard to:

Firstly, the development of teacher education in Albania influenced by the changing nature of the political and social control and influence, *secondly*, the importance of social, economic and political factors in forming societal perceptions of teacher status, *thirdly*, the evolution of teacher education, *fourthly*, the emergence of pre-communist ideas once the political control and influence loosened, *fifthly*, the influence of global developments on the content of teacher education, *sixthly*, the involvement of a wider number of interest groups in debates around the nature and quality of teacher education.

The second section describes the development of teacher education in Albania from the period of the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare* (1830) to the present. I examine these developments as they relate to the

historical and political developments at a given period. Reference is made with regard to important individuals who exercised their influence on developments on teacher education. I also point to the breaks and ruptures that take place due to the political and historical factors. This section also considers the increasing public expectations of teacher education.

In the third section I return to the six original guiding concepts and discuss the key findings in relation to the importance of historical, political social and economic factors that have influenced the development of teacher education in Albania; the stages of these developments and their nature; the social perceptions of teacher education and teacher status; the development of teacher education in Albania versus global developments and public expectations about the quality and nature of teacher education. Finally I provide conclusions drawn from the analysis.

The thesis makes an important contribution to knowledge in providing:

- a) A public written account, which constitutes the only coherent and solidly based work in English on Albanian teacher education on a national and international scale.
- b) Analysis of teacher education as a political process more sharply evident in Albania than in most countries because of the sudden and radical character of successive political changes and the exposure of the system to external forces.

Within that analysis there is clear evidence that changes in teacher education were a local variant of changes compared to other Central and Eastern European countries in the decades after 1945. However, the thesis makes it evident that strong European tradition remained alive during decades and has become influential even today.

ABBREVIATIONS

AEA	Assessment and Evaluation Agency
AEDP	Albania Education Development Project
CEE	Central and Eastern European (countries)
CTS	Control and Training Sector
IAK	Instituti Arsimuer Kyrias (Kyrias Educational Institute)
IKAP	National Institute of Public Education
KP	Pedagogic Cabinet (Kabinet Pedagogjik)
KUALIDA	Distant Education for the training of teachers
LED	Local Education Directorate
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoES	Ministry of Education and Science
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
NCPD	National Centre for Pedagogic Documentation
ODLT	Open and Distant Learning and Teaching
PRI	Pedagogic Research Institute
SAK	Education and Culture Department (Seksioni i Arsimit dhe Kulturës)
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
TTD	Teacher Training Department

Acknowledgment

I would first like to thank my supervisors Prof. Bob Moon, Jenny Leach and Dr. Nicholas Beattie for their guidance, support and patience throughout the writing of the theses. I would specially like to thank Mr. George Soros for funding part of my studies. Also special thanks go to Solon Foundation namely, Douglas Funk and Dr. Ruediger Teutsch from the Interkulturelles Zentrum in Vienna, who funded part of my studies, thus making it possible for me to finish my theses.

Most gratefully I would also like to acknowledge the support of all my friends and colleagues in Albania and Kosova who, in difficult moments have encouraged me and have continuously supported me in different ways making it possible for me to carry this effort through to the end. They are: Prof. Musa Kraja, Prof. Hamit Beqja, Dr. Hysni Myzyri, Prof. Shefik Osmani, Prof. Pëllumb Gaçe, Prof Dr. Njazi Kazazi, Prof. Hajrullah Koliqi, Dr. Gëzim Dibra, Pranvera Korbeci, Anduena Shkurti, Dragan Gjikondi, Dr. Pavli Mikerezi, and many others.

I would also like to acknowledge the support and encouragement of my friends in the USA, United Kingdom, the Czech Republic, and the Netherlands: Dr. Laura Wendling and Dr. Lisa Morgan, Jane Taunton, Dr. Milan Pol, and Jenne van der Velde.

Special thanks go to John Anderson and Judith Leveillee (UNICEF Albania) for their support and constructive feedback.

Finally I would like to thank my family for their outstanding moral and technical support they have given me during my years of study. Without it completion of this thesis would have been impossible.

Section one

Introduction

This thesis seeks to investigate and analyze the historical development of teacher education in Albania from the period of the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare* (Albanian Renaissance) to the present focusing on the historical, social and political factors that have influenced developments in teacher education. The research addresses various issues and places them in *time* and *space*. *Time* refers to the four periods and *space* the entire Albanian territory where developments vary due to the changing political and historical conditions. I look at particular development in the past and in the present, taking into account the current thinking with regard to certain developments. Popkewitz (1987, p. 15) has argued that “to study the past in the present is to locate breaks, discontinuities, and ruptures in the institutional life”. In this introduction I consider the context of the research, the aims of the thesis as well as its structure.

The context

In every nation, education plays a decisive role in cultural and spiritual development. It assumes a particular importance in key historical periods. This makes the development of education, of schools and educational activity in its broadest sense a national and social concern. Without an organized school system one cannot speak of a civilized nation, nor conceptualize perspectives towards social progress. As such the role of the teacher has been and is still crucial to the development of any country. Consequently, the preparation of teachers is a major concern for governments at any point in time. This political dimension of teacher education explains why, historically, teacher education has been predominantly shaped in response to the demands brought about by changes of policies in the educational system.

It has been only in the last decade that Central and Eastern European countries have done away with isolation and dictatorship. Integration into the rest of Europe and the world requires certain skills on the part of the citizens if they are to cope with the complexities of their new societies. The need to

educate all young citizens not just the elite in order to bring prosperity to the country's economy has emerged as a major task. This task requires careful preparation including the training of teachers and presents significant challenges to teacher education in the future.

Aims of the research

The *topic* of the thesis is complex given these remarkable political, historic, pedagogic and cultural dimensions. The *object* of the thesis is to describe and analyze the context in which teacher education evolved. It attempts to give a panoramic view of teacher education in Albania from the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare** period to the present and to explain the causes and the course of developments in teacher education during certain historical periods. In doing so, I have provided historical background in order to understand why and how certain educational developments occurred and how they have led to other developments with special reference to teacher education. My purpose is to make such history integral to the understanding of the present.

The significance of the research

Albanian education and developments in teacher education have to date been little known in the English speaking world. Research has been done and several books and papers have been written by Albanian scholars on particular educational institutions as well as on the role of teachers and their high esteem by the public. Most recent are the studies carried out by Prof. Musa Kraja (The Albanian teachers for the Albanian nation, 1993) and Prof. Shefik Osmani (Ethnopedagogic survey, 1998), but they provide one-off accounts of particular institutions with no attempt to place them in a broader perspective. Research devoted particularly to the area of Albanian teacher education is missing. This is the first analysis of the historical, political and social factors in the development of teacher education in Albania; hence my interest in carrying out a study of this sort.

The importance of the research is many fold:

Firstly, it describes events peculiar to Albania, which have been hitherto inaccessible.

Secondly, it analyses those particular events and shows how they exemplify more general patterns.

Thirdly, enables us to learn from this history so that “future planning can gain from the hindsight afforded by the past”(Popkewitz 1997, p. 155)

The thesis describes the causes and trends of certain developments as they relate to social and political events in Albania. It looks at the past and the present in order to locate breaks, discontinuities, as well as ruptures that have occurred in teacher education at certain points of development. The information provided in the thesis also shows and proves that Albania has been part of international developments, to varying degrees, depending on political conjunctures.

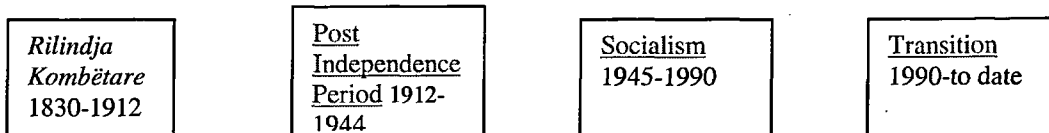
In the thesis I argue that the development of teacher education in Albania has evolved from an unstructured pattern to university institutions. I also argue that the emergence and development of teacher education institutions is closely related and influenced by historical, political, social and economic factors. To this end I highlight how political events have been influential in certain developments in teacher education and how at times have led to an interregnum or indeed given a completely new course to development. The research provides significant detail concerning causes of events, which have either enhanced or limited progressive change.

The chronological ordering of events and the historical identification of actors has been viewed as the precursor to meaningful change. The past, the present and the future are seen as the products of human action in a socially constructed and developmental context. The outstanding people involved in particular developments have been described as purposeful actors affecting significant change through their deliberate actions.

The research also describes the concerted efforts made by governmental and non-governmental agencies in recent years to change the ways in which teachers are taught and to modify the curricula. The way in which some of these changes have impacted on institutional structures and affected policy are also reflected in the thesis.

Periodization

The Four Albanian Periods



The nature, structure, purpose and direction of the educational system have been in turn dictated by political, economic and social-cultural considerations and constraints. Therefore, the development of teacher education in Albania has been orchestrated by the demands of the educational system together with the policies prevalent during particular periods.

The development of teacher education has been seen in the light of and closely connected to political and historical events in Albania. Therefore, development and analysis of teacher education is treated in four main periods of the Albanian history: *the National Awakening period* (1830-1912), *Post Independence period* (1912-1944) after Albania was proclaimed an independent state), *Socialism* (1944-1990) and *Transition* (1990-to date). Each period has its own peculiarity. Each is related to a particular historical and social context. Clearly an underpinning aim of all has been to bring changes to society by making the teacher a potential change agent.

The study, analysis and interpretation of the results, relating as they do to different historical events, highlight the great historical, pedagogical and cultural values on a national scale. For instance, the

development of Albanian education, schools and pedagogic thinking during the Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare date until Albania won independence in 1912. This has been unique (Abazi, 1997) with its high-minded aims and lofty ideals for the educational and cultural uplifting of the Albanian people and raising of awareness of their national identity.

The post Independence period marked a rapid development in elementary and secondary education. During this period, the efforts of the iluminists* to disseminate the teaching of the Albanian language throughout the country continued with opening of schools for the preparation of teachers. This creation of an intellectual elite by educating people in western contradictory schools was an important factor in bringing about the western contradictory orientation schools was an important factor, in bringing about the western orientation of Albanian education.

Such western developments ceased due to the political events in the country after World War II, the time when Communist regime was established in Albania in 1945. During the communist era Albanian education saw important quantitative developments. Illiteracy was abolished and the network of schools increased. At the same time the content underwent significant changes due to the new ideology.

During transition efforts have been made for the school to assume a western orientation and to return to models of education, which had been evolving prior to 1944. Changes have been made to curriculum content and in preparation of teachers in order for them to better accomplish their mission in a democratic society; hence the increased prominence of teacher education in the recent years in Albania.

Embedded within each time frame of these four periods, an analytical discussion of Albanian education and its relation to certain political and historical developments is provided. My aim has been to enable this analysis to structure readers' understanding of the changing Albanian context, the developments that occurred in education and the implications for teacher education.

The structure of the thesis

The thesis has been organized in sections. *The first section* includes the context of development of teacher education, the introduction to the four areas of investigation and the notion of guiding concepts as well as the methodology of research. *Section two* covers the development of teacher education from the period of *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare* to the present. *The final section* includes an analysis of the findings of the research and conclusions.

Section one

Chapter I: introduces the theoretical perspective taken in the thesis and explores the four areas of investigation around six guiding concepts on the social, economic and political influences on teacher education, the historical evolution of teacher education, the content of teacher education curriculum and the public expectations about teacher education. These are addressed throughout the thesis.

Chapter two: Methodology, discusses the approach taken in the research: historical perspective and the methods used to collect the data, which are provided in the research.

Section two

Chapters 3-6 explore the development and evolution of teacher education during the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare*, *Independence*, the *Socialist era* and *Transition*. The six guiding concepts are explored in each of the four chapters. Statistical data and tables are provided to illustrate and support the ideas presented.

Section three:

The final section of the thesis includes Chapter 7, the Guiding Concepts revisited, Analysis and Conclusions. I return to the six guiding concepts that have been addressed in the thesis. Here I take a stand on the ideas already put forward in chapter 1. I provide explanations, add new information and comment and debate around the issue. The chapter ends with a discussion for possible research in the field of teacher education in the Albanian territory taking account of other parts of Albania such as Kosova, Albanian region in Macedonia and Chamëri*.

Note on translations:

All translations from the non-English sources have been done by the author (i.e. me). Proper names appear in their most familiar English form. Most of the definite Albanian names appear in the Albanian script.

Note on special words

Words with a peculiar meaning are noted by way of an asterisk, which provides the reader with an orientation to look the word up in the glossary at the end.

Chapter one

The introduction of the four areas of investigation and the notion of the guiding concepts

Nowadays all countries are facing global challenge and process. Public education is often seen as an instrument of economic policy. Reid and McGallum (1998) argue that the object of education today is “to develop capacities for social practice” i.e. pupils acquire learning strategies, for themselves and for their society. For this reason reforms in many countries stem from the global imperative of being able to compete successfully in world markets as a condition of economic development (Elliot, 1999).

To provide pupils with the knowledge and skills that will enable them to compete in the *market economy*, teachers are required to use complex teaching strategies and curricula that are not only motivational, but that connect to the real lives and needs of all pupils. The greater the variety of qualities and skills that pupils need to acquire in order to cope successfully with life in future, the more complex and challenging becomes the task of preparing teachers and their retraining. For this reason, teacher education reforms have become a global phenomenon and almost everywhere in Europe, it is at the centre of controversy and uncertainty (Eggleston, 1991). Most recent reforms emphasize the work of teachers and teacher education. In countries undergoing major political transformations, in particular, it is high on the political agenda.

There is now a common awareness that investing on the quality of the preparation of teachers means investing on a better future. Popkewitz (1987, p. 2) sees teacher education as having risen in prominence in the second half of the 1980s. Every government has a direct interest in teacher education and wants to have full control over teacher education by controlling its *curriculum* through certain goals, thus putting the teacher education curriculum at the centre of any government’s policy.

The public demands of education and teachers have changed. There is a growing concern by the *public and the parent community* concerning the improvement of the quality of teaching, teachers and teacher

education. Now parents want their children to be provided with good education. This has increased their interest in the preparation of teachers and expectations of them as well as parental involvement in educational matters.

Developments in education do not take place in isolation. Countries learn from each other, and particularly small countries like Albania. Levin's view (1998) that countries are influenced from developments in other countries challenged me to investigate how significant this process was. The interviews with different Albanian scholars alerted me on the variety of views in terms of external influences on Albanian education and teacher education as well as the extent they relate to certain historical and political circumstances. This debate urged me to explore how and to what extent external influences have affected Albanian teacher education? I began to question what political, social and economic factors lie behind certain developments. How imported ideas have got translated into policies and what are some of the differences and similarities that may be identified? How have these ideas evolved over time in education and teacher education in particular? To what extent has teacher education achieved similar prominence in Albania? Does the Albanian context mirror events in this part of the world? Are the political circumstances of Albania unique? Does this discussion in the terms expressed by scholars in the field have a similar meaning in Albania?

All of these led to the broadening of the scope of the research particularly as it relates to the pre-war time. I then decided to focus my research on the history of teacher education in Albania beginning with the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare* period.

In my description and analysis I will be drawing on countries, which have had a significant impact on the development of education in Albania with special focus on teacher education. These will include the former communist bloc countries paying special attention to the former Soviet Union but also on Turkey, Austria and France or even countries from the Far East such as China. Albanian-Chinese

relations during the 1970s have had a significant influence on the social, political and educational life of Albania.

After reviewing the literature and writing several research outlines, I decided on the research question that reflected my interests “How has teacher education in Albania evolved and developed and what factors lay behind certain developments?” My plan was to conduct research on the development of teacher education in Albania looking specifically at the history of teacher education by considering the historical, political, social and economic context that brought about certain developments. Having established a research theme and after I decided on the periods to be addressed, I then produced four areas of investigation around which I started collecting the data. The four areas of investigation focus around four sub-themes:

- Social, economic and political influence on teacher education
- The historical evolution of teacher education;
- The content of the teacher education curriculum;
- The public expectations about teacher education.

These four themes helped in my preliminary reading and in establishing six provisional guiding concepts within which I would like to analyse the Albanian context.

Developing a theoretical perspective

My intention has been to conduct a research that plotted the development of teacher education in Albania and one which would consider the historical, political, social and the economic context of that development. The story, described in the coming chapters, focuses on the historical development and the political and social context and provides a historically grounded level of analysis.

The fact that countries are influencing each other encouraged me to also draw on developments in countries which for historical reasons have had an impact on the development of education and teacher

education in particular. Because the research is historical in nature, I take an historical interpretative approach. Here and there will be some comparative elements, which aim at giving answers why certain developments have taken place.

The research is qualitative and allows for comparison with other international education and teacher education reforms. It seeks to describe, to compare and contrast and to highlight particularity. The cross-national comparisons serve to render concepts more precise and to isolate case-specific causal relationship (Karlberg 1994, p.6). It also analyses the causal inferences of certain developments and how they have been re-contextualized. The data and statistics provided in the thesis are meant to support this analysis.

In reviewing the literature I established six guiding concepts against which I hoped to interrogate the data that would be collected.

Guiding concept 1: The changing nature of political and social control and influence has been an important factor in the development of teacher education in Albania.

There has been a growing literature on the relationship between social and political form and the evolution of teacher education policies and practices. In part this has been brought about by the growing uncertainty around the nature and quality of schooling and teachers in a number of North American and Western European countries. Political and social pressure on the school system has occasioned the interest of sociologists and economists enthusiastic to join in the practical and theoretical debates. It is important in a study of this sort to probe underneath the ideas presented to try to elicit the underpinning theoretical issues, which go beyond the practical circumstances as for instance USA and England.

In the same way, few would doubt that any account of the development of teacher education in Albania would involve considering social and political pressures. The chapters in section 2 will be looking, in detail, at the markedly different conditions that influenced teacher education from the period of Ottoman control at the end of the 19th century to the uncertainties and anxieties of Albania in the post communist era. In exploring the first guiding concept I have set out a number of key perspectives.

In this knowledge driven world, a work force that commands more than basic skills is a prerequisite for a better life and secure future. James Kelly has pointed to the need to change education as the society's expectations for education are changing. He lists three pressing reasons for improving education:

- We must value every individual person and educate to the fullest extent of his/her ability;
- We must strengthen the social fabric of our societies and the social contract with our citizens so that diverse societies can continue to grow and develop, and people can live successfully together;
- We must assure future productivity and economic prosperity across the globe by educating the children of today to be productive adults who think for a living.

(Budapest Conference, December 3-6, 1998, "The role of Education and teacher Education in meeting individual, social and economic needs")

Nowadays social and political debates centre on the quality of education and the role of teachers raising thus implications for teacher education. Ishler (1996) has pointed to the direct link of teaching and teacher education to the economy of a country and Fullan (1991) comments that "when things go wrong in society, education and teacher education become the subject of criticism". This fact has made teacher education to be at the center of controversy and continually under attack. Wideen and Grimmet (1995, p. 1) have observed that teacher education has been soundly criticized in every decade since the Second World War. For instance in the United States in 1950s more of the criticism was placed on the teaching staff and especially on administration and those who trained teachers rather than on the system of schooling itself (Goodland, 1984).

Many countries have adopted educational reforms of which changes in the structure and content of teacher education are usually a part. Popkewitz (1991) considers education reform as a mechanism to achieve cultural transformations and links it (Popkewitz, 1997) with the role of teachers. He calls them 'the actors who will bring about or prevent change'. To describe the transformation process Popkewitz (1991, p. 1) has identified two words: *reform* and *change*. He uses these words with different meanings: *Reform* as a word concerned with the mobilization of the public and with power relations in defining public space and *change* as "social ruptures in ongoing patterns", rather than as "an evolution or a chronology of events that seems inevitably or potentially progressive". He sees reform as an object of social relations rather than as imposed by authority and further argues that the current reforms maintain and extend elements of previous national reform movements.

Yates (1972) argues that it has been proved that a system of teacher education undergoes reform particularly during those historical periods in which social development reaches a turning point. For instance when schools were to prepare pupils for employment in production and enable them to adapt to new methods of work and to changes in the political system, the first institutions providing systematic training for teachers in the UK and the old preparatory courses in Austria in the early 19th century, considered it their task to prepare teachers. The economic, social and political developments engineered the "scientific and technical revolution" and charged teacher education with entirely new tasks, both in industrially developed countries and in those just starting economic and independent political development.

Bernstein (in Popkewitz 1991) highlights the political dimension of reform and argues that "every time a discourse moves, there is space for ideology to play". I wanted to explore how ideology has influenced developments in teacher education in Albania; what policies the Albanian governments have adopted in different periods and what institutional arrangements were made. The chapters following will describe these in detail.

Popkewitz (1997) also points to the contradictions and tensions that may be involved in teacher education reforms. He further argues that institutional tensions are deeper than those identified in the political discourse. Certain individuals exercise power over others by articulating their interests as social, cultural, political, and economic transformations occur within society.

Reforms maintain elements of previous reforms. Goodland (1990) argues that the successive cycles of educational reform are as certain as the succession of the seasons and that elements of one era resurface in the next. The nature of educational reforms in Albania, what elements of previous reform are maintained and the implications for teacher education will be explored in chapters three to six.

Changing family patterns, educational standards and cultural aspirations posed new demands on teacher education. This has had a significant impact on teacher education. For instance an important one, which has been identified by Popkewitz (1987), is the feminization of teacher education. As Albania has been a strongly patriarchal society I was interested in exploring its implications in teacher education.

The literature suggests that developments in teacher education have not taken place in vacuum or separate of each other. A number of external and internal forces create pressures for change over time. Wickham (1981, in Barcham 1997) points to the fact that “each country is a product of internal and external influences”. In the same way, Levin (1998) argues that the various developments in teacher education have followed interrelated paths and have not taken place in a vacuum or separate from each other. Ball (1998) describes this as an inevitable process of bricolage: a matter of borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere, ...” (pp. 126-127).

In research carried out on teacher education systems in a number of western countries and some of the countries of the former communist bloc from the 18th century onwards, Buchberger (1998), has pointed

to a variety of influences that have created diverse teacher education systems. He argues that the variety of teacher education systems and models in Europe exist as a response to different school systems. Initial teacher education at primary level was strongly influenced by a “seminaristic” or *’ecole normale* tradition, the focus being on practical training and less importance to both educational theory and academic/scientific knowledge.

The literature suggests that regardless of the very large differences that exist in different contexts, teacher education systems have commonalities but also peculiarities. Buchberger (1998) has observed certain elements common to teacher education systems of most European countries, which he summarizes as follows:

- the basic traditions that exist in many countries correspond to fundamental differences between education of primary school teachers, lower and/or upper secondary school teachers and teachers of vocational, technical or commercial education;
- professionalization has influenced tremendously the development of most initial teacher education systems and models;
- most teacher education systems and models seem to place emphasis on initial teacher education and ignore the need for on-going professional development of teachers as well as the importance of INSET;
- there are similarities or mutualities among different systems and models of initial teacher education due to the influences of some countries and their models of teacher education in the old days. For instance the Austrian system of initial teacher education of the Hapsburg Empire influenced the countries in central and southern Europe. Similarly, Soviet Union had a great impact on teacher Education in the countries of the former communist bloc.

Karsten and Majoor (1994) argue that the similarities and differences that exist between the countries in Eastern and Central Europe are not the result of the recent changes after the fall of communism.

They suggest that any change, no matter how radical the change may be, have historic roots in societies, which were different in some and similar in other respects.

Guiding concept 2: Social, economic and political factors are more significant in forming societal perceptions of teacher status than formal professional qualifications.

The debate amongst laypersons, politicians and the media over the issue whether teaching is or is not a profession is long standing. The view of some people that “everybody can teach” has been challenged since 1891, from William T. Harris, U.S. commissioner of education who hoped that:

“... time is not far distant, when an untrained teacher will be considered a greater absurdity than an untrained doctor or lawyer”

(Goodland, 1990, p.136)

Teachers exert an enormous influence on the lives of pupils and have the responsibility of helping young people for life. To play this role they must be prepared as individuals as well as managers, organizers and experts in pedagogy.

The status of teaching as a profession and of all teachers is linked to the value placed on both, by pupils, parents and the wider society. A number of studies have undertaken international comparisons of occupational prestige (e.g. Hodge et. al. 1966) with regard to the appreciation of the teaching profession. They have consistently demonstrated a high degree of correlation between occupational hierarchies, despite variations in geographical location, stages of economic development, and point in time at which the study was undertaken (Hoyle, 1995). In a research carried out in 53 countries in 1977, Trayman has come up with several generalizations concerning the teaching profession:

- *Teaching* was regarded as a profession or semi profession by all the respondents;
- *Teaching* has a much higher status as compared with professions like: civil servant, nursing, policeman;
- *Teaching* has a higher status than that of a qualified worker;
- *Teaching* has a lower status than medicine and law. A higher status is given to teachers teaching in the upper levels of education than those teaching in the lower levels of schooling ranging from university to kindergarten teachers.

In the recent years educational reforms have been increasingly prompted by issues of social and economic development. The need to strengthen through reforms the professional capabilities and status of teachers has become an important element in this process. There is an extensive international literature on the *professionalization* of teachers. It is often suggested that the current debate that is currently going on concerning teaching as a profession and the teacher as a *professional* is related to the quality of education provision. In most instances professionalization is presented as a strategy to improve the quality of teaching and upbringing. For instance in the Anglo-American academic settings the on-going debate on school improvement is related to the quality of teachers. Scientifically legitimated pedagogic knowledge is considered to have a strategic value in the *professionalization of teacher education* (Simola et al, 1997).

Popkewitz (1993) has identified two meanings of the word *professionalization*: *firstly* as it relates to efforts to provide teachers with greater accountability through increased mechanism and certification rules about the outcomes of teacher education programmes and *secondly* as it relates to professional groups who define professionalization as a strategy to increase the social and intellectual competence of teachers through the increase of teacher autonomy, status and responsibility.

Scholars in the field have expressed their views on how *professionalisation* can be achieved. For instance, Popkewitz (1994) argues that many countries have used *professionalization of knowledge* to

bring teacher status to a higher standard through *prolongation* and the *improvement of the content* of teacher education courses. In some countries, as for instance Iceland, Spain and Portugal, teacher education reform, in part assisted by international agencies such as OECD and the World Bank, has been used to promote the professionalization of the teaching force. Neave (1992) suggests a two-stage transformation of teacher education: *in the first stage*, restoring teacher status through organisation of a set of knowledge, practice and induction required to teach. In the *second stage* restructuring existing organisational patterns, prolongation of the teacher training programmes, introducing new selection criteria in some cases, and changes in the curriculum.

The literature suggests that although professionalization is used as a vehicle to increase teacher status, there are several factors influencing it. For instance in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, teachers “were suspected of possible Tsarist leanings, or of having an anti-Communist or merely apolitical attitudes (Rosen 1971, p. 106). But later, popular respect for education was much higher, as it was considered to be the most important route to advancement. Their status increased due to the importance of their role in a different political system. However, literature suggests that teacher status has fluctuated over time. Zajda (1987) argues that during communist rule teachers were politically supported at all levels; socially they played a very significant role. It was one that was ‘ascribed rather than achieved’. Still their economic status did not respond to this social prestige (Grant, 1968). In the Soviet Union teachers were supposed to perform a dual role; they were responsible for the education (*obrazovanie*) of youth and the upbringing or rearing (*vospitanie*) of youth in terms of social behaviour and communist indoctrination.

Teacher’s status has also fluctuated in China. In old China teachers were highly respected by the public. In 1949, the year of the founding of the Republic of China, teachers were “hailed as “glorious engineers cultivating human soul” whereas in 1967, when Cultural Revolution started, teachers’ status plummeted. Teachers became “stinking intellectuals’ and often the targets of proletariat dictatorship” (Paine, 1992). Later, the Chinese government made efforts to build up the nation’s respect for teachers

by announcing in 1983 the first Teachers' Day in Chinese history which has since been celebrating it on September 9th every year (Li, 1999). Also, many primary and secondary teachers were awarded and promoted for their outstanding work. This led to a significant improvement of the public's attitude towards teachers. However, nowadays teachers in China are still among the lowest paid professionals (Hu & Seifman, 1987, p. 43). Karsten and Majoor (1994) points to the contrast that exists, presently, in some central European countries between the social status and the social prestige of teachers. While any kind of teacher job is considered by the broader public to be very low-paid, teachers rank much higher in social prestige. Kotasek (1999) comments on the paradox that exists in CEE countries in which the economic status of teachers is low while they rank high in social prestige, regardless of the differences related the level of education and type of school.

The professional status of teachers is significantly influenced by economic factors such as the national standard of living. An indicator of such an appreciation is the teacher's salary. This however, varies from country to country. In countries like Denmark, Germany and Luxembourg teachers are better compared to teachers in Greece, Scotland, Belgium and Italy. However, everywhere in the world teacher status is low regardless of some differences in various cultures.

Another important indicator of teacher status is the *selection and placement of teachers*. This varies from country to country and from one period to another. In the former Soviet Union, for instance, teachers' nomination to their posts was based on their political belief or at least their lack of opposition to the system, rather than on their academic achievements (Bar, 1994). The literature suggests that this has been the case in all the eastern block countries and seems to linger to date, still to varying degrees. Whereas, in the west different policies and patterns are employed.

Teacher's other conditions of service also impact on status. The quality of training they receive and the way this is perceived by the wider community, the quality of resources they have available to them and the conditions of the school and classrooms in which they work would be three examples.

Despite the analytical work that has gone forward around the issue of teacher status many educational systems see this as problematic. Karsten and Majoor (1994) argue that the teaching profession is undergoing a crisis and that this crisis has more than just economic roots.

Overall the literature is clear, although complex in the way this is represented in different contexts. Social, economic and political factors are significant in forming perceptions of teacher status. Even in a wholly university professionalized context such factors may be stronger than any formal title or qualifications. These patterns seem to be international. How they will be exemplified in the Albanian context will be explored in the chapters following.

Guiding concept 3: *The development of teacher education will show an evolution from an unstructured differentiated pattern to a more unified, state influenced, university based provision.*

Teacher education has long-standing traditions. With the emergence of schools there emerged the institutions, which prepared teachers, the normal schools. The idea that teachers should receive special preparation became popular in Europe when schooling spread to the masses of people. The term “normal” meant “ordinary” and was used in the sense that the children of the poor should receive an ordinary education giving them instruction in the primary or basic subjects in order to function in society. By the end of the 18th century men such as Phillip Von Fellenberg at Hofwyl and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi at Yverdon opened normal schools where those who wanted to devote their life careers to teaching the poor could get special preparation in teaching them.

There seem to be significant differences amongst teacher education institutions across and within countries as a result of the history of teacher education as an organized enterprise. Yates (1972) points out that these differences are a result of the rapid transition of education from being the domain of a privileged minority in the community to a system, which would benefit all members of the community.

In Europe formal teacher education dates back 300 years ago with the establishment of the first “*ecole normale*” at Reims at the end of the 17th century by Jean Baptiste de la Salle in France (Moon, 1998). It bore the classical features of the *ecole normale* i.e. it was concerned with social order and the preservation of traditional values. To enter the *ecole normale* students had to go through competitive national exams and were required to be boarders; the school was supported by public funding; the curriculum placed special emphasis on the basics and on practical training; practical experience was controlled by the school itself; it had strong roots in the local community; the principal of the *ecole normale* would be appointed by the government (Judge, 1994). The *ecole normale* in France was strongly secular.

The first training seminars, *Lehrerseminar*, in Gotha, Germany was established in 1698 and in England the first teacher training college, was established in 1798, in Southwark. The later was strongly influenced by the church (Moon, 1998). Archer (1979, in Moon 2001, p. 144) suggests “that the different forms into which educational systems evolve reflect the ways in which successive groups shook off the constraints of religious control. Historically, in England as in France, the training of primary school teachers was the responsibility of the teacher training colleges and not of the universities; the name “teacher training college” was intended to emphasize the *humble image of a utilitarian preparation* (Judge, 1995). In the United States, when formal education became established, teacher education provision was quickly put in place. The European, the century-old Prussian normal school, model was spread in the US. The first public teacher training institution was created in July 1839 in Lexington, Massachusetts (Moon, 1998) pioneering the training of female teachers, “a new kind of school, a new kind of profession, the principle of taxpayer support and a new vocation for women” (Goodland, 1990, p. 138). In the Balkans, the territories under Turkish administration displayed a similar pattern (Alpan, 1978).

Later, separate institutions of post-secondary status for teacher training in parallel to the university were established. In England, the first training colleges, which flourished in 1840s, were quasi-

missionary institutions where religious knowledge and commitment were strengthened. Students took two-year courses and studied some educational theory and a great deal of subject matter and even more school practice. Training colleges did not train secondary school teachers.

By the early twentieth century, teacher education is characterised by the establishment of the training colleges and the gradual secularisation and upgrading of the denominational colleges and the collapse of pupil-teacher system. The issue of the balance between academic and professional subjects for both elementary and secondary teachers was in the centre of discussion among reformers (Judge, 1994). In Greece, for instance in 1933 the *Didaskalion* were replaced by the pedagogical academies (teacher training colleges) for a two-year initial teacher training. Students could join the school after having completed the six-year high school (gymnasium) whereas, the nursery school teachers studied for two years in *Scholes Nipiagogon* colleges (Alexopoulou, 1998).

In the Soviet Union, where before the 1917 revolution, secondary school teachers were trained in universities then were later trained in the P.G. Shelaputin Pedagogical Institute (higher education), which opened in 1911, set up for the purpose. People with a higher education diploma would attend a special two-year course there mainly on pedagogical disciplines. In 1918, the teacher training system was reformed. Three-year teacher training courses at teachers' seminaries were set up. Also, some of the teachers' institutes were converted to four-year public education institutes. This initial stage ended in 1920 with the founding of two basic types of pedagogical institutions; *pedagogical technicums* (renamed pedagogical schools in 1934) and *pedagogical institutes*. During that same period pedagogical faculties were set up within the universities, which later on became independent pedagogical institutes. The two-year teachers' institutes continued to function for 20 years (Rosen, 1971).

Shortly after the former communist countries came under the Soviet hegemony, there was a Sovietization of social life. Teacher education was reformed to better meet the needs of the new

society. As a result, the education of nursery school and elementary school teachers was with the secondary school level (pedagogical grammar schools). The education of primary school teachers (grade 5-9) was reduced to semi-university level (pedagogical high school), and the training of secondary school teachers was taken out of the universities and transferred to independent pedagogical colleges.

The second part of the 20th century marks a significant step in the history of teacher education. As a result of mass schooling the need for more schools and consequently for more teachers emerged. This development put forward the need for training more teachers and required changes in classroom teaching. Consequently, the need for quality teaching brought about the formation of social sciences and the emergence of the discipline of psychology, which led to the establishment of universities.

In the United States normal schools had all disappeared by the 1940s. By the 1960s teacher education was entirely inside the university. While in Europe this process started in 1960s when the investment of education was viewed as the most efficient way to improve organization by raising the general level of knowledge and skills in society (Neave, 1992, p.10). The universities were given the responsibility for preparing secondary and a little later, primary school teachers. In France, during the first part of the twentieth century, teacher education of primary school teachers was entirely outside the university, while secondary school teachers were trained in the University. Until the 1960s the *ecole normale* in France was a very popular institution as it had its origins in a social and cultural world distant from that of the University, the *lycee* and the bourgeoisie. In the 1960s it was the most obtrusive institution devoted to the education of teachers (Judge, 1994) and came under severe attack.

The creation in 1989 of teacher-training units inside the French university (IUFMs - *Institute Universitaires de Formation des Maitres*) brought together the training of primary school teachers and secondary school teachers, and for the first time teacher education was fully brought within the walls of the university (Judge, 1994). Also, in Finland, in the 1970s the teacher education reform in Finland affected significantly class-teacher training (primary schoolteachers). It was moved from colleges and

seminaries to the new university faculties of education established by the reform. Pre-primary and primary education was brought to the ambit of the university. In 1979, the preparation of teachers was raised to the master's degree level. (Simola, et al. 1997). These developments were meant to raise the institutional status of teacher education. In Europe the process of bringing teacher education to the ambit of the university has continued to the present. Examples are the former communist countries in which this process started to take place following the political changes of the 1990s.

Another consequence of the universitization of teacher education was the *prolongation of teacher-training* programmes to the pattern predominant in universities. Neave (1992) brings two examples, one from Greece where time under training for future pre-primary and primary school teachers has been doubled from two to four years and one from Portugal, where the duration of studies in teacher faculty institutions has been lengthened from two to three years.

Neave (1992) analysed *three stages of the development* of teacher education:

In *the first stage* a number of schools for teachers, set in parallel to upper-secondary education, emerged. Through the first half of the twentieth century teacher training institutions for primary education became established in most countries.

The second stage saw the creation of separate establishments of post-secondary status for teacher training in parallel to the university.

The third stage is marked by the “*universitization*” of teacher education. In the second part of the 20th century there was a move to give the universities the responsibility for preparing secondary and a little later, primary teachers.

Scholars in the field have described the universitization as an outcome of the strengthening of the meritocratic principle (Neave, 1992). Moon (1998) points to universitization as an outcome of the increase of the government's interest in teacher education through institutional restructuring, and Judge (1995) as a way to express the increased appreciation of the public for the important role of teachers

and their work. For Kallos (1993) the universitization of teacher education is an ongoing process, which is characterized by its contradictions and ambiguities.

The chapters following will explore whether developments in Albania were part of a broader picture and which of the above does universitization of teacher education in Albania tend to consider?

Guiding concept 4: Although the imposition of Communist models influenced teacher education policies, pre-communist ideas re-emerge once political control and influence loosened.

The extension of compulsory primary education and later the increasing democratization of secondary education in the industrial countries reflected ideas that were grounded in the works of certain modern pedagogues such as Comenius, Rousseau and Herbart.

These ideas were fully applied only by the end of the 19th century when empirical and experimental study of the child and education, of psychological and pedagogical measurement, and progressive pedagogy spread among teachers. This approach made a radical distinction between subject-centered and child-centered education (Yates 1972, p. 89).

In the late 19th century and the early part of the 20th century new trends in pedagogy began to emerge. In the context of reversing the tradition according to which primary and secondary education were separate and to introduce concepts of continuous educative process, education for young learners assumed priority. Experiences that young learners had to undergo and the activities they were to be engaged took primary importance as compared to teaching the subject matter and learning facts by heart (Evans 1985, p. 87 in Judge, 1994). In England for instance, the ideas of Froebel, Maria Montessori and John Dewey on the child centred pre-school and primary education had become very popular for the English culture of education. Stress was placed on the importance of developing individual abilities and interests and the building of character and moral training. Passive learning and mechanical exercises were replaced by “learning by doing”. The child-centred approach based on new

models of developmental psychology was very much supported in colleges. However, whole-class instruction was ignored (Judge, 1994).

Innovative theories were spread also in other countries of Europe. For instance in pre-war Czechoslovakia, education and pedagogy were influenced by positivism, some US influences such as Dewey and Thorndike, the progressive education movement as well as a lot of Herbartianism (Pol, interview, 2000). In Russia, in the earliest period, after the 1917 revolution, progressive techniques had been imported from the west and introduced in Russian schools. Such were for instance the Dalton Plan, which allowed the pupils to work on individual assignments geared to their own pace, or Dewey's activity methods.

Michel Fullan's (1993, p. IX) argument that "there comes a time in the cycles of societies where radical breakthroughs or destruction are likely to occur" is best exemplified with the radical changes that took place in Soviet Union after the October revolution. Developments in education in the Soviet Union took a different course. Communist ideology was introduced and it was openly avowed that the Leninist principles of education would be applied. King (1963, p. 234) has noted that communist education "ideologically encompassed all educational aims and concerns" while in Lenin's words "education and upbringing are directed towards the realization of communist morality". Soviet teachers were supposed to learn, share and transmit the characteristics of Soviet man such as Soviet humanism and patriotism, new communist attitude towards labour, collectivism and internationalism, comradeship, truthfulness, honesty, courage and discipline were all part of this curriculum.

In the teacher colleges the new emphasis came to be on the teacher's political role. Soviet teachers in addition to being subject specialists and skilled in teaching, were also expected to have mastered the principles of Marxism-Leninism and to clearly perceive the political aims of the party and the nation by being actively involved in the social and political affairs. The professional functions of teachers were virtually sanctioned and institutionalized by the system (Zajda, 1987).

The curriculum of pedagogic institutes included political and general courses, educational theory and the special subjects. The courses in educational theory included psychology (mainly Pavlovian, though some psychoanalytic doctrines such as those of Freud, had a small coverage in the curriculum; mental testing techniques were not taught and pedagogy... Grant (1968). Prof. Pëllumb Gaçe (1999), an Albanian scholar and former student in the USSR in the 1960s, recalls that in the Soviet Union students studying to become teachers would study western theorists. However, knowledge about them was limited and in many instances flavoured with a lot of criticism. For instance, Comenius, Rousseau and Herbart were characterized as the “representatives of the pre-monopolist capitalism period education”. Special focus was given to the Russian theorists and scholars, particularly Dieplov, Goncharov and Makarenko (Gaçe, 1999).

Following World War II, in 1945 the CEE countries came under the Soviet hegemony. The considerable prestige of the victorious USSR, combined with its overwhelming military power and the conditions of the Cold War, meant that an unusual degree of educational conformity could be achieved in CEE. Private schools were not allowed. As the system was centralized, every decision came from top. Other professional, political and social groups, with alternative ideas and beliefs were suppressed. Special importance was given to mathematics because of its direct connection with science and technological developments in order to make the country self-sustainable. Russian became the main foreign language, which enabled the translation of Russian materials to respective languages and the import of Soviet approaches to education. Communist ideology became the prevailing ideology. The Marxist-Leninist belief system became the backbone of the entire educational network and upbringing process in the Soviet education system.

The school's discipline was remarkable and the prevailing teaching approach was the teacher-centred one (Karsten, 1994). The teacher was required to cover the entire curriculum throughout the academic year. This pattern may also be true for the western countries, but the rigidity of the Soviet model was absolute. Priority was given to values and moral education in order to produce “the new man” (Grant,

1968, p. 31). According to King (1963), in both communist and western societies a great deal of value is placed upon education, but the place of this value in the hierarchy of values tends to be different.

The preparation and training of teachers was closely linked with the mission of education. The aim was to train as many teachers as possible thus leading to an oversupply of teachers. The teacher had the responsibility to impose ideologically influenced knowledge on pupils and to be the transmitter of the state policy (Rogacheva, 1996). A teacher trained in the teacher education institutions should be one who was “equipped with the profound knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory, one who had completely mastered the subject he was teaching and had mastered the skills of teaching”(Grant, 1968, p. 235).

Although the countries were under the Soviet tutelage, the Eastern European school systems and their teacher training systems were never a monolithic block. All of them had their own characteristics and peculiarities. Grant (1982) brings two examples of this deviance: Yugoslavia and Albania, which developed their system in their own way regardless of applying the same policy. A detailed description of the Albanian model, its commonalities and peculiarities compared to the Soviet model will be provided in chapter five.

The major political changes of the 1990s led to the collapse of the communist system and the opening of the former communist block countries to the world. Democratization and freedom of thought were introduced. The changes in political systems brought about significant changes in the structure and content of education. The Marxist-Leninist ideology in education was officially banned. All curricula and textbooks with reference to communist values were abolished. Contacts with the western world and ideas became far more intensive. Foreign literature began to come in the country thus allowing people to have access to new ideas and new developments from the west. Private schools emerged. Unlike in the past, education in the post communist era aimed at giving the students opportunities to explore the world for themselves in active ways in order to further the students' understanding.

The new mission of education called for a new pedagogy, which provided opportunities for students to express themselves in free and open ways. These developments put new demands for teacher education in order for it to provide a more appropriate education for prospective teachers. Changes in the structure and content of teacher education took place. In many countries teacher education programmes were extended to 4 years and the preparation of primary school teachers was done at the university level. New courses were introduced in teacher education programmes. But despite the changes that have been made, the preparation of teachers remained very theoretical. Though alternative modes of teaching are introduced and encouraged, still the traditional approach is most common.

The new pedagogy called for the humanization of education. Consequently new ideas re-emerged such as the philosophy of Comenius, which emphasized the process of growth that constitutes human learning. The post-communist period saw the revival of the Pestalozzian theory and the opening of several Montessori schools. Piaget, whose theory on learning was so widespread in the pre-war schools and banned for decades, became the core of the teacher education curriculum. Dewey and his progressive education, so widely spread during the 1920s, heavily criticized by theorists of the socialist system though to varying intensity depending on the rigidity of the socialist rule, became popular amongst educators of the former communist countries. And Vygotsky's constructivist theory, which according to Prof. Gaçe (2000 interview), was not known before even by the Russians and only recently became part of the teacher education curriculum.

Chapter six will be looking at the changes in the structure and content of Albanian teacher education. It will highlight the new ideas following the downfall of the totalitarian Albanian regime.

Guiding concept 5: *Throughout the 20th century the content of teacher education is markedly influenced, with the exception of the post-war communist period, by global developments in teacher education.*

Political changes dictate educational change and changes of attitudes towards education. Teacher education, like the education system itself, reflects broad political, economic, social and demographic trends. Hence the content and organization of teacher education are central to the agenda of the state. Its content is related to the issue of values the society wants its citizens to possess as well as the quality of teachers who will impart these values on their pupils. However, the degree and the nature of the emphasis placed on teacher education has varied at different historical periods. In this context an important issue with regard to the content of teacher education is "Who decides on the content?"

The government who has a direct interest in the content of teacher education curriculum and determines it. Whitty, et al (1987) have observed that the current thrust of recent interventions within teacher education in England are more in line with government thinking. However, teacher education programs are considered in the context of the overall development of the country. As a result, there is a variety of influences on the development of teacher education, all dealing with a general concern „How can teacher education be more powerful to better respond to the society's needs?

In the early part of the 19th century the century-old Prussian normal schools model was widespread in the United States. In England the first teacher training colleges that emerged in the beginning of the 19th century were strongly influenced, by the church. During the late 19th century and early 20th century few educators received sound apprentice training. In Russia for instance, primary school teachers were trained in teacher seminaries, in teacher training classes within women's gymnasium and ecclesiastical schools and in the two-year courses attached to certain higher elementary schools. In the United States, the public normal schools consisted of four basic components: a "review of the branches of knowledge"; the "art of teaching"; the "subject of the government of the school"; and a "practice" or model, school (Goodland, 1990). Woodring (1975) explains the poor pedagogical background of America's normal schools with the fact that most of the founders of the early normal schools in the US were ministers or politicians rather than educators. They thought that "it was enough for the elementary school teacher to have sound knowledge of the subjects taught in the elementary school, be virtuous,

industrious, dedicated to work, and obedient to superiors. Character training was more important than intellectual development; hence normal schools in the US were never thought to become higher education institutions. Arthur Wise and Jane Leibbrand (2000) describe the normal schools in the US of the 1800s as low quality. Teachers knew little more than their students. They explain this with the fact that American society at that time did not require a highly educated workforce, but a large number of people with basic skills.

Pedagogic ideas that prevailed for some time became obsolete and were replaced by new ones. Herbst (1989) argues that in the first part of the 19th century, the Herbartian theory, which was borrowed from Prussia and replaced Pestalozzian approaches, became prevalent in the normal schools of the Austria-Hungarian Empire. Simola (1993) explains this with the fluorescence of the pedagogy founded by Herbart. Educational theories, which for some time were prevalent in a particular context, were replaced by others which were considered to be more progressive. Popkewitz (1987) views theories of pedagogy in teacher education as “prescriptions for auction and rituals of social manipulation. He relates this phenomenon with the fact that “each pedagogy expresses particular hopes and beliefs held by segments of society (pp. 19-21)”

However, in different countries such changes have happened at different times. For instance while the Herbartian pedagogy was already mostly over in the rest of Europe, it began in Finland just at the end of the 19th century. The Herbartian tradition in Finnish teacher training was phased out in 1944 through a textbook of didactics written by a Finish expert, Matti Koskeniemi. Dewey’s progressive pedagogy became influential not only in the US but also in China in the 1930s (Teng 1957 in Su 1998). The need for schools to develop the thinking ability of pupils by placing the child in the center was strongly emphasized. This trend phased out Herbart’s pedagogy in many countries.

The political changes that may occur in a country dictated the need for reforms. They may either ask for a re-conceptualization and restructuring of the education systems or may create entirely new

systems, which may be different both in form and content. In CEE countries for instance, which came under communist-dominated governments following World War II, a repetition of the experience of the Soviet Union took place. The mission of education changed. The bias was towards mechanical learning and accumulation of large amounts of information. Habits and skills were only symbols to cover the hidden agenda of education. The aim was to develop a high level of technical and secondary education in order to produce specialists for the development of heavy industry and the military power.

This change of attitude towards education throughout Central and Eastern Europe, coupled with the opportunities given by the construction after the devastation, meant that inevitably the European education system would evolve on radically different lines from those which had prevailed in different countries before the war (Vaizey, 1971, p. 12). This was in marked contrast to the ideas which influenced developments in the pre-war period. Progressive theories came under attack. Many teachers, enthusiastic about teaching, were willing to take the initiative in applying innovative methods but the „watchful eye of the state-appointed supervisors made these activities difficult to sustain“ (Gregory, 1998). Dewey and the other Western educators' ideas and influences came under attack. In China, for instance, Dewey was considered by the Chinese critiques „a sly enemy disguised under a progressive mask“ (Teng, 1957, p. 62). The pedagogy of Makarenko was most popular as it advocated collective education and the leading role of teachers in the learning process.

In the Green Paper on teacher education in Europe Buchberger et al (2000, p. 14) has pointed to the strong “Normal School tradition” (“Seminarium” or *Ecole normale* tradition”) in the preparation of primary school teachers in a number of western European countries. The focus is on *Practical training* in the form of methodology courses closely related to curricula and subject matters and the supervision of teaching practice frequently organized in special training schools. The importance of educational theory, academic and scientific knowledge and research-based knowledge on teaching, studying and learning is devalued. He further argues that at an institutional level the “normal school tradition” was originally a part of the programme in schools at upper secondary level. Most of these teacher training

schools at upper secondary level have gradually been transferred into single purpose institutions at post secondary level (e.g. *Padagogische Akademie* in Austria), non-university institutions of higher education (e.g. *Seminarium* in Denmark) and later, in many Member States of the European Union integrated into universities.

Buchberger et al (2000) has observed that even today the normal school tradition can be closely identified with a concurrent model of teacher education through parallel programmes in methodology, basic subject studies, educational studies (e.g. Didaktik, educational psychology and educational sociology) and supervised teaching practice. In contrast, the academic tradition has had a very strong influence on teacher education institutions preparing teachers for the upper secondary level. According to this tradition more emphasis is placed on scientific knowledge in academic subject disciplines for teaching and the teaching profession. In this way it is assumed that knowledge of the scientific structures, contents and methodologies of particular academic disciplines, the competencies and attitudes during the learning process of knowledge acquisition are sufficient to enable teachers to teach. Educational theory, methodology and teaching practice are less important in the “academic tradition”. While scientific studies in a small number of academic disciplines frequently comprise more than 80-90 % of the programmes, professional studies and teaching practice are restricted to the remaining percentage. This implies that prospective teachers are socialized as subject specialists in a small number of academic disciplines.

Teacher education programmes in the member states of the European Union seem to have some common curricular components.

- studies in education and/or in educational sciences (e.g. Didaktik, educational theory and philosophy, educational psychology, educational sociology and evaluation);
- academic studies in a certain discipline;
- subject matter methodology;

- teaching practice.

In spite of the effort to make improvements, post-1989 teacher education systems in the CEE countries seem to retain elements of the pre-1989 era, especially in pedagogy and psychology. And these elements are found across most countries. Subject studies still play a bigger part than methodological training. The methodological training is not operational and is therefore difficult to bring it down to specific educational methods. The achievements of Western-European psychology are often neglected. Popkewitz (1987) explains this with the link between the present and the past in the process of change and argues that when the present is juxtaposed with the past, there are breaks as well as continuities.

The chapters following will be looking at how the content of teacher education in Albania has evolved and changed; what are the breaks and continuities that have occurred in the changing political contexts and to what extent and points in time Albanian teacher education has been influenced by global developments.

Guiding concept 6: Towards the latter years of the twentieth century a wider number of interest groups have become increasingly involved in debates around the nature and quality of teacher education.

The social-economic context of modern societies of the 21st century is largely being influenced by three basic factors: scientific-technological world, the globalization of economic and partly cultural relations and introduction of ICT. Today's society is changing

“from narrow nationalism to universality, from ethnic and cultural prejudices to tolerance, understanding and pluralism, from autocracy to democracy with its manifold appearances, and from technologically divided world in which high technology is the privilege of the few, to technologically united world – thrust a major responsibility upon teachers ... “

Nowadays education has become an important political issue in many European countries. The education sector may provide answers and solutions (partially or even fully) to new challenges and problems. Drucker (in Wideen & Grimmet 1995, p. 2) talks about the *knowledge worker*, one who requires a different preparation and a different attitude. Successful business requires a higher qualified workforce. Today's society is facing a big challenge: *education for all* and not only for an elite. Therefore, during the last two decades, the number of young people attending full time education beyond the official school leaving age and the number of students attending higher education has been increasing rapidly (Harrison, 1998). Wideen & Grimmet (1995, p. 3) argue that education has become too important to be left to only educators. Popkewitz (1987) states that in addition to politicians, parents, through parent associations, employers and so forth are highly interested and involved in this effort.

Buchberger et al (2000, p. 28) has identified several ways in which changes in society may influence the education sector:

- by producing changed relations between the education sector and other sectors of society,
- by questioning the monopoly of the education sector,
- by shaping new divisions of labour in educational matters e.g. between home and school,
- between education institutions and informal learning environments) and, or
- by placing new demands on the education sector.

The development of technology as well as the social, economic, political and demographic changes have put forward new demands and expectations for education thus increasing the global concern for the quality and equity of education provision. One of the OECD reports states that:

Only a well-trained and highly adaptable labour force can provide the capacity to adjust to structural change and seize new employment opportunities created by technological progress. Achieving this will

in many cases entail a re-examination, perhaps radical, of the economic treatment of human resources and education.

(Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1993, p.9. OECD)

European countries are facing challenges due to the diversity of languages, cultures, socio-economics, politics, climates and regional preferences (Lingens, 1998). The interdependency of countries requires a common understanding of all aspects of life on the part of their citizens. Education is seen as the way to prepare young people as future leaders and citizens and the ones who will hopefully bring unity and harmony to our continent. Neisler (2000) points to the necessity of skills that teachers need to acquire in order to educate a diversity of students and advises that in order for them to do this, teachers need to understand and respect differences across socio-economic status, values and communication styles in a pluralistic society. In this context the role of schools and particularly of the institutions, which prepare teachers, is unquestionable. Hence greater attention has been given to the European dimension of teacher education in the recent years. This requires that the education and training systems have some fundamental values, which could be summarized as follows:

- the denunciation of war replaced by adaptation and negotiation;
- democracy and the fight against inequality;
- the total consideration of alterity;
- tolerance, welcoming and respect for differences

(Vaniscotte in Buchberger 1993)

The changing of the political system has strengthened the concern about the quality of education. Many people in the CEE countries lack these skills because during the communist period the aim was to produce an elite of first-class mathematicians, physicists, and engineers. In order to maintain and to bring to higher standards the standard of living and in order for democracy to function effectively, schools must provide quality education not only for the privileged but also for the community at large. At the same time, the opening of the CEE countries to the world in the last decade has increased the opportunities to travel and even make choices with regard to the location individuals want to live.

There are a large number of people from the CEE countries living in the west. This development has led to new requirements such as the need for better-qualified people, with a broader scope of knowledge and able to communicate with one another.

The changes in today's life style have also prompted changes and expectations of schools. In the United States, for instance, more than half of the mothers with school-age children are now working. Goodland (1984) argues that, today, schools do not only educate. Together with TV they also provide a baby-sitting service for parents who start work early in the morning and are not yet at home when their children return from school. This has increased the desire of parents for their children to have a more comprehensive education. Parents have emerged as stakeholders with a 'voice' to be heard.

Talking about the role of the teacher Mitter (1991, p. 139) argues, "the teacher's position in society and the corresponding goals assigned to teacher education, are very closely bound up with the picture that society has of its teachers". There are many actors in teacher education, which articulate their interests, as social, cultural, political and economic transformations occur within society. It collaborates closely with a large number of partners, first of all with the parents of pupils with whom it is important that the teacher establishes a regular and genuine dialogue; then with association and partners with connections with the socio-cultural environment (Zay, 1994b, pp. 214-215 in Moon 1998, p.15). Consequently a range of interest groups have now become increasingly interested in the improvement of teacher education. Parents express great interest in the preparation of teachers. In recent years the issue of parent and community involvement in educational matters have been very largely discussed. Parents are seen as very important partners in the process of educational matters and improvement.

Wideen & Grimmet (1995) have observed that in addition to parents there are various social actors who are interested and involved in changes in teacher education. These include the Parliament, Ministries of Education, universities, professional organizations and associations including students themselves. These groups, it is suggested, are actively involved in the current debate about the future

of teacher education. The extent to which such interest groups are influencing developments in Albania will be reviewed in the later chapters.

Chapter two

Research methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the research strategies used to examine the guiding concepts identified in chapter one. The historical interpretative approach has been employed to describe and analyze past and present developments in teacher education.

The chapter is divided into six sections:

Section 1 identifies the implications for data collection as a result of the identification of the research question and the guiding concepts and the scope of the research.

Section 2 considers the procedure used in the collection of data, the timetable of the research and issues of access. Several methodologies were used.

Section 3 details the variety of methodologies used in this research, interviews as well as document analysis.

Section 4 looks at the analysis of research data and the compilation of the findings.

Section 5 and 6 look at the perspectives on researching as an insider.

History as narrative

This thesis is my personal story seen in the light of my perspective. In reviewing the literature, carrying out interviews and analysing data I was very much aware of my own views and ideas on the history of Albania and the course of events in education, particularly teacher education. I was, after all, a full participant in post second world war developments. I had attended schools during, what is now perceived, as one of the most totalitarian periods of 'communist' rule. I had attended University, learnt English, but at a time when contact with the world outside Albania was strictly forbidden. Foreign

literature was for an Albanian, as the Albanian saying of one of the famous Albanian writers of the 1930s Migjeni puts it, “the forbidden apple”. My first contacts with the outside world were the foreign tourists, when I worked several times as a tour guide. It was only through them, it was possible to learn about education in other countries. However, this was still limited as that was a topic, which I feared could get me into trouble.

My first experience in a western country was in 1986, in Finland. I was given a chance to visit a kindergarten and attend an English class for emigrants. I was extremely impressed with what I saw: the conditions in the classroom, the teacher-pupil communication, the interaction between them and the textbooks they used. A Finish friend gave me a couple of books, which I managed to get through at the Albanian airport with the help of a cousin of mine who worked there. This however, had to be kept confidential; consequently I could not share the books with my friends in Albania for fear of consequences. Contacts with the people I met could not be sustained, as we were not allowed to write letters to them. Later, in 1988, which was the time when the situation became slightly less rigid, I managed to receive a few textbooks from some Australian friends.

In my early teaching career I had felt resentment at being sent to a remote rural community in the north of the country where I experienced for the first time the difficult conditions in which teachers, the up-bringers of the new generation, had to work and live. I realized how different the world was within Albania, how different the life of teachers in rural areas was compared to the ones living in towns. Teachers in rural areas had to walk a long way to get to school and the working conditions were much worse compared to towns. I was aware of the limited support I was receiving in school in order to do my job. Foreign languages at that time were treated as second hand subjects.

As my career as an educationalist developed, I had become increasingly aware of the arbitrary and frequently unjust exercise of power. Although isolated from emancipatory movements elsewhere I became increasingly aware of the patriarchal and gendered power relations, in the school and the wider

community. Yet, at the time in the 1970s and early 1980s, I also felt a form of loyalty and commitment to the nation and its break from feudal power that was instilled in every Albanian child and to which adult commitment could, in public, be nothing short of one hundred per cent. The work of the outstanding Albanian writer, Ismail Kadare's novel, *Palace of Dreams*, or recently Gjergj Xhuvani's film 'Slogans' both depicting the absurdity of the totalitarian exercise of power, was well known to me.

However, my parents, like thousands of other parents, made clear in subtle ways the limits of my freedom of speech. I was always reminded of them that I could not express my views of the way teachers were treated as it related with their extremely difficult conditions particularly in the rural areas, where I had the chance to experience it myself for five years. I also felt that my reading educational and pedagogical information was limited to the "Teacher's newsletter", the Pedagogic review" and some Russian literature available in libraries. Yet it was not only insufficient but most importantly way too politicised and largely decorative. Other literature was almost entirely restricted to official view bearing the stamp "rezervat" meaning "only for authorized use".

Within a society in isolation, however, I did not see these social pressures in the way I do today or the way those outside Albania saw them at the time. And, as many Albanians would say today, not everything was negative despite the restriction on freedom, law and order: a regular salary, and a sense of social solidarity did exist in ways that made people feel secure.

In the 1990s until the present time I have been an active participant in the reconstruction of Albania. I became aware that education could be a strong vehicle to change the country for the better and that teacher education could play a significant role to change the Albanian society by empowering teachers to play their role. I have been hungry to devour the ideas and influences of the outside world and I took part in several international events.

In such a context is it possible, I have asked myself, to give an account of this period sufficiently free of my own prejudices and perspectives? I appreciated, as well, that the sort of ideas and changes of views that I experienced had been also experienced by others. I realized that some people I would be interviewing had experienced the same transformation. A number of people, holding senior positions in the 'communist' government had a very public record of their commitment to principles and ideas, which now at best seem old fashioned and, at worst, could be called absurd. But I also know that no enquiry into the social world of Albania could be wholly free of that inner personal history and those complex webs of unease that exist in all parts of the world that have experienced sudden movements in the political and social structure.

I set out therefore to collect data in as independent a way as possible. I sought ideas and the history of events in the literature and through interviews. I also sought to ensure that the accounts, and the analysis, rested on multiple sources of information. It is always difficult in a thesis to tackle virtually contemporary material. How to give it shape is a problem as the dust hasn't yet settled, the outcome of these events is not yet obvious and there is danger of imposing my own personal perspective upon what is supposed to be more objective. At the conclusion it would be my account, I was fully aware of that, but it would be an account fully open to scrutiny.

I. Research question and guiding concepts

The initial scope of the research in the early stages was "Teacher education in Albania: past, present and future". Because additional literature was made available and as a result of the discussions with fellow researchers in the field, the title of the thesis was changed to "Teacher education in ethnic Albania". After a thorough review of the literature about teacher education in Albania a number of guiding concepts were developed. The process of formulating the guiding concepts was on going over a period of twelve months.

In the very early stages of the study, several discussions were held with educational experts in Albania with the aim of determining the scope of the research both in time and geographic terms. Later, as a

result of the literature survey and also out of an interest to investigate the development of teacher education in Albania, the issue to determine the scope of “the past” arose. In other words, how far back in history to research: as far back as the Middle Ages, the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare*, Independence or just *the past* meaning the communist period? Another decision to be made was whether to focus on Albania only or given the recent developments in Kosova to also address the issue in the ethnic Albanian territory? It took some time to resolve this dilemma. Several Albanian scholars advised me to deal with the topic on a large scale, which means encompassing the entire Albanian territory throughout the four periods. I started doing this and collected much fascinating data. Given the sensitivity of the issue at the moment and the different policies that were applied in Albania and in Kosova, I thought it would make the story too complex. Therefore, I decided to deal with Kosova in periods when it was part of Albania and under the same education system and policy of the Albanian State.

At the beginning of the study I carried out a series of interviews with Albanian scholars in the field of education and teacher education. The interviews helped me to get a deeper understanding of the topic and at the same time enabled me to identify issues, which sometimes turned out to be controversial in literature or were completely missing in the literature produced during communism. A considerable amount of information was collected through the literature available in Albanian libraries as well as the OU Library. Useful sources of information were the Albanian State Archive and a number of personal libraries. I then outlined the structure of the thesis.

I considered it important to establish a working draft of the guiding concepts before exploring literature in the libraries. The guiding concepts helped to guide me during the period of exploring literature and to structure the amount of data I had assembled. However, other literature was consulted after identifying the guiding concepts. The guiding concepts then provided a number of the key headings during the period of data collection.

II. Procedure

The identification of people knowledgeable in the field of teacher education required on-going investigation. A number of people were contacted at the beginning of the research, mainly people I knew. Some of them had been involved in writing historical literature on education in Albania. A notebook of contacts was kept during the research and full details of individuals, institutions, libraries, state archive were noted. The notes were updated on an on-going basis. At the end of most interviews I asked for details of individuals, contacts and literature, which might be useful for my research. Due to their recommendations the list of key people lengthened and, as a result, the net of contacts widened. Finally the list of key people was checked with several scholars in the field of education to make sure that the most important ones were not left out.

III. Work plan for the Research

In order for other researchers to follow the steps in the data collection and analysis, which point to the conclusions drawn, I have tried to provide a detailed work plan. The work plan, described below, changed in the course of the study due to several factors:

- The change of the scope of the research (the account on Kosova);
- Availability of resources (other resources were made available at a later stage);
- Personal matters (regarding job and health);
- Infrastructure problems (lack of electricity, computer damage and so on).

The last factor was time and energy consuming. The electricity supply problems in Albania, power cuts, which occurred several times during the day, led to serious computer damage. To be on the safe side I had my thesis in four other computers so that I could work when electricity was available in a certain part of the town.

Stage 1: Initial interviews

Several educators in Albania were contacted and interviewed. I interviewed several scholars in the field of education, all of them educated in the old regime. However, it was very interesting to see how their views had evolved over time. Very often they contradicted what I had read in their books. I also interviewed scholars, who had been educated in the western schools such as Prof. Sotir Papahristo (2000). The interviews were generally conducted in a semi-structured way. When I needed to know about specific issues, questions were developed prior to the interview.

Stage 2: Initial Literature review and inquiries

Following the initial literature review and the development of the main research question, there was a need to decide on the scope of the research in terms of the periods to be addressed. Background information was sought on the geography, history, social and political situation of Albania concerning each period. Particular attention was given to the schools for the preparation of teachers.

I visited the library of the Pedagogic Institute in Albania several times to look at other theses written by Albanian scholars with the aim of gaining information on issues relevant to my research. I found out that no comprehensive thesis on teacher education had been previously written. Therefore, work on such a topic was welcomed by academics, namely Prof. Musa Kraja, who thought that this was the first effort made in the field of the history of teacher education in Albania. Both the processes of researching the literature and corresponding with contacts in Albania were on going throughout the research.

Being involved in education for a long time helped me to get to know a lot of educators who have been contributing to education for a long time. In the beginning I talked with people who I thought could provide me with some orientation as to the issues to be addressed in the thesis. Their views were diverse. Some of them suggested looking at teacher education beginning with the communist period until the present time. Others recommended that I start with pre-war time because that would make the story far more interesting and would better help to identify a variety of trends in the developments in teacher education in Albania. Given that this topic of research is addressed for the first time in all its

complexity, some others even recommended that I look back as far as the National Awakening period. Indeed, one of the scholars recommended looking at teacher education as far back as the Middle Ages. Also several scholars from Albania and Kosova suggested expanding the research dealing with the entire ethnic Albanian territory. This meant that the geography as well as the number of people to be interviewed had to be larger, and hence had to include researchers who a) came from both Kosova and Albania, b) were knowledge holders of the field of teacher education in different periods of Albanian history, c) worked in different layers of the education hierarchy and were either directly involved in policy making or implementers of these policies in different periods. Consequently, the people who were interviewed comprised policy makers, researchers, teacher trainers and schoolteachers. The purpose was to get a balanced account by getting a range of perspectives in terms of key trends in developments of teacher education as well as hear in an oral form what was not available in the literature. This also meant hearing new interpretations on certain issues that seemed to be controversial.

I interviewed people who had been working in the high levels of the Ministry of Education, and hence directly involved in policy making; education specialists in the national Pedagogic Institute involved in teacher training as well as in the writing of the history of Albanian education; researchers who knew about the topic; and teachers currently teaching in teacher preparation institutions. They provided me with some guidance as to the issues worth looking at, how to relate historical events with developments in teacher education. They also provided me with information on other resource materials to be consulted.

Interviews also helped me to develop themes that would go into sections representing each period. These were however changed several times. In the early stages of the thesis I was descriptive and simply listed a number of teacher preparation schools without really putting them in a sound political, social and economic context. As the interviews and the literature helped me to get a better understanding of the link between these factors and the emergence of teacher preparation schools, I then changed the outline of the thesis to better reflect this connection.

The interviews also helped to see different perspectives on certain issues, as well as to confirm certain information I had come across in literature for which I needed to get more clarification particularly related to the pre-war period and that of communism. Some of the views conflicted. For instance developments in the pre-war period, mainly during King Zog's regime, in most books and articles written during communism were seen as very negative. For instance there is mention about King Zog's policy of open doors which allowed "American and Italian imperialism" to penetrate" (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990, p. 350) and that these influences had had a negative impact on educational developments in Albania. However, I could read between the lines concerning statements such as "King Zog took the so-called *occidental* (i.e. western)" measures (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990, p. 348), which hinted that I had to look deeper into the literature. As I had grown up in a system where there was such negative propaganda about that period in a way this sort of negative feeling was still in me. To get clarity about this period I talked to people who either had lived through that time or knew about it. These hinted to look at foreign influences that were at play and particularly the changes that they brought about in the education system on the whole, but also to look at other literature or talk to researchers in Albania who were open-minded. The discussions with various scholars and the reading of a variety of materials written during pre-war time (see references) helped me to have my own perception of developments and the factors behind them.

It was very interesting to see them change and to hear their perspectives compared to what I had read in their writings. However, the interviews helped me to realise the degree of change in them. Some of them were more radical and seemed to have been obliged to write the way they did because of political pressure but also because of limited information; in some others there were still some footprints of the past. Being exposed to new literature and ideas, but also being no longer under pressure, some of the interviewees admitted that the political pressure and extreme isolation had kept them cut off from progressive ideas in the west, hence had a limited understanding of them. This made me think that I had to double check and make a careful analysis of their analyses at the time.

Interviews enabled me to also clarify issues addressed in the literature dealing with the communist period. For instance I was aware of the Russian influence until the 1960s, the time when Albanian Soviet relations were broken, but it was unclear to me why Russian educational literature continued to enter the country at a time when "Soviet education" became subject to criticism of Albanian educators and scholars (Beqja 1986, p. 139). In the same way, with regard to the Yugoslav influence on teacher education mentioned by one or two interviewees, it was not confirmed by other interviewees or by the literature. As for the influence of the French system, which is not to be found in the literature, interviewees helped me to understand why Albanian education had to rely on it at that time. Such explanations could not be found in the literature, arguments which I managed to hear from the interviewers.

During the interviews I took down every word the interviewers said, (sort of my version of shorthand?), which I later wrote on the computer. A tape recorder might also have been helpful and could have made life a lot easier for me, but I thought that using a tape recorder might affect the quality of the information provided by the interviewee. Using tape recorders is not part of the Albanian culture. People might associate it with the days of the totalitarian regime. I was not aware of this until I conducted the interview with Professor Papahristo, who demonstrated a fair amount of hesitation.

Some of the information and most of the analysis is being presented in this public forum for the first time. My personal position is expressed through the way I have organized my thesis, the issues I highlight in it the importance of the political, historical, and economic and social factors in the development of teacher education and how these factors interrelate. I interpret certain developments in the light of a broader historical, political, social and economic context, and attempt not to see things in black and white but rather by making generalized conclusions based on the information collected in a variety of ways.

No doubt other scholars will investigate the same territory. It is likely that ideas and interpretations will be challenged. However, my account would provide one foundation stage, one position, from which such important further work could grow in the future.

Stage 3: Preliminary analysis:

I wrote up all the interviews and singled out the issues that came from them as well as from the literature surveyed. Then, I wrote a working draft of the thesis in order to get my supervisors acquainted with the issues as well as with the literature available in the field of Albanian teacher education. Communication with my supervisors was by way of e-mail and through participation in international events. In the meantime, I started to read a number of articles with reference to developments in teacher education in other countries. This also helped me in forming the basis of my work on the guiding concepts of the thesis.

Stage 4: Visit to the Open University:

In July 1999 I had my first two-week visit in the Open University to use their library and to discuss issues related to the guiding concept chapter with my supervisor. The first draft was produced later in the year.

Stage 5: Second visit to OU in 2000:

Revision of the guiding concept chapter was made in 2000, 2001 and again in 2003. It took quite some time because:

- Firstly, I was inexperienced in doing something like that;
- Secondly, I had to take account of the comments of my supervisors;
- Thirdly, other resource materials were consulted.

Stage 6: Second survey of the literature:

Due to the expansion of the scope of the thesis i.e. including teacher education in Kosova during communism and at present during 2000 and 2001 I had to look at other sources. To this end I approached scholars in Kosova and Albanian territory in Macedonia, who very generously supported me with literature and ideas. As a result, the data chapters were far more enriched with new information.

Stage 7:

Third visit to the Open University to discuss the second draft of six chapters and the bullet points to be considered in the final chapter took place in March-April 2003. First draft of the final chapter was completed and sent to my supervisors at the end of April.

Stage 8: Data analysis and writing up:

The data analysis and writing up went on from 2002 to the completion of the theses. The first stage was the word processing of the notes and analysis of all the data collected. First draft of a number of chapters was completed in June 2001. This included the literature review and guiding concepts, methodology as well as detailed background notes on teacher education in Albania. I discussed the 'Albanian' chapters with two colleagues in Albania.

Then after the supervisors read the first draft, they recommended that a number of Albanian terms needed to be explained and that a glossary would be helpful. The writing of the glossary took place while I was revising the chapters. To help the reader understand the history, several maps and charts were attached on the recommendation of my supervisors.

Following the data analysis, the data chapters (3-6) were rewritten in chronological order during 2001 and several additions were made later in 2002. As the number of characters in the thesis was beyond the norm, some unnecessary details were deleted. A number of the earlier chapters were then revised

and finally the last chapter was completed in April 2003. The revised chapters were sent to my supervisors in UK for comment in early May 2003.

III. Data collection

Sources of data

1. historical data (a. documentary ; b. current; c. statistical)
2. documentation (verbal/anecdotal, formal/informal interviews, www)
3. archive documents

1. Historical data

Getting a historical perspective on teacher education in Albania has not been easy because part of the information was elicited from sources, which were written during the communist era, hence distorted. Provision of historical background information is intended to provide the reader with an understanding of the Albanian context in which teacher education developed.

Most of the documents and information were collected from the Pedagogic Research Institute, Tirana Public Library, the State Archive, a number of personal libraries in Albania and Kosova, and from academics in Albania, Kosova, Macedonia and other countries. Collecting information has not been easy. At times institutional biographies were difficult to find in libraries and archives as they had been damaged in the course of years. Such data included books, state archive documents, newspapers, brochures, etc. At times it was difficult to rely on facts and figures as many of them were used for manipulative purposes. To cope with this I had to look into other resources or make use of the interviews for clarification.

At the same time, lack of electricity made it very difficult for me to use documents in the state archive. To make efficient use of my time I used a small tape recorder. I recorded the photographed or hard copy materials and then wrote it on computer afterwards.

2. Documentation

This included a wide variety of current and recent data from reports, magazines, Teacher's newsletter, brochures and statistics. This helped me to clarify the issues and enabled me to understand and differentiate between reliable and unreliable information. Also the interviews with other open-minded scholars in Albania helped me to get my interpretation of certain issues particularly the ones related to the pre-war period and communism.

3. Interviews

Several interviews were conducted for this research with a variety of scholars in the field of education. These included well-known Albanian educators with extensive experience in education.

Initially, interviews were unstructured. During the period I was familiarizing myself with the history and clarifying the issues, subsequently, interviews were structured in a way that would help me get the information I was looking for. A list of questions was prepared in advance. This approach proved to be very helpful as it allowed me to word the questions appropriately. This was particularly important for sensitive issues as were the ones related to the communist period. In a number of situations additional questions emerged during the interview and these were added or replaced pre-prepared questions. During the interviews notes were taken. After this I checked them again to see whether there were points that were not addressed. Interviews formed the backbone of the data collection particularly in the earlier stages of the thesis. In general gaining access to the interviewees was not difficult. They

were quite willing to share their knowledge and understanding except for a couple of cases in which desire to share knowledge was limited. Interviews varied in length from one to two hours.

IV. Data Analysis

The process of data analysis is one of organizing and synthesizing the information collected and looking for patterns, finally deciding on what to include into the final version of the thesis. This was not easy however, given the complexity of the data. The process of analysis started as I reflected on the data throughout its collection. A number of key issues became clear from the early interviews such as the need to include more background information on the history of Albania, to determine which periods to research, where to incorporate Kosova and the Albanian part of Macedonia. Other issues only became apparent during later analysis such as the need to distinguish more the general and the particular in chapter one and reorganization of certain chapters.

During the interviews a number of ideas emerged from earlier interviews in later interviews such as the need to provide information on other teacher education institutions regarding the Normal school of Elbasan. A suggestion was made as to the need to employ a less emotional language, with regard to sensitive political issues, which appeared so often in the description. It was also important to emphasize continuity of certain developments and to mention the factors that brought about an interregnum or radical change in the course of history.

I wrote all of the information elicited from the various sources and put together all of the interviews. After this I read and started to systematize all the documents I had collected. A number of key issues became obvious. The interviews also hinted to look for more data and to look for other more useful sources. Then I developed a number of headings. Later, a series of subheadings was developed while I was internalizing the information collected. Aspects of particular significance to the development of teacher education were identified. These would include the role of the political factors in establishing

an Albanian teacher education system, the impact of religion and the foreign influences on the development of Albanian teacher education, the nature of teacher preparation schools, the changes in the structure and content of teacher education, and so forth.

V. Researching as an insider

In writing this thesis a linear, analytical, chronological format has been followed. My interest was to put into the international domain ideas and information hitherto inaccessible to the international scholarly community (Moon, 1999). Albania has been an extremely isolated country and having access to information has been difficult for foreign scholars. As an insider this undertaking, in a way, was easy for me, as I was familiar with the historical context of my country. Such was the case with the pre-communist period particularly the time of King Zog, which is however still controversial today. Developing a better awareness of people relevant to the thesis was helpful.

At the same time being an insider was in some respect a disadvantage. At times it was difficult to be impartial in my judgement, as some sort of brainwashing seemed to linger among the people I had to interview, as well as in myself. I managed to overcome these difficulties in a number of ways. I first tried to become familiar with the history of Albanian education by reading a wide range of materials, including foreign publications about the history of Albania, and by interviewing a number of experts in the field from different political backgrounds. A number of key people were interviewed twice for the research and the more difficult and sensitive questions were asked of more than one interviewee. Other foreign literature also helped me to better understand issues common to CEE countries in particular.

Later, I discussed most of the chapters with several academics in Albania and sent the draft copies of the thesis to my supervisors in UK who most kindly checked the facts I had assembled and the preliminary analysis. Their comments were extremely useful in the final reworking of some of the data and a better chronological arrangement of the information.

Recommendations for a research agenda

While exploring the data I observed that several issues emerged which I think would be worthwhile looking at them in more depth. Therefore, I have divided them into two main groups. The first group relates to themes, which cut across all the four periods addressed in the thesis. The second group relate to issues, which through the analysis may provide solutions to the current problems teacher education in Albania is facing.

Group one:

- Women (feminization of teacher education in Albania, the dynamics of this development and the factors behind it; women in education and teacher education today;
- Churches (the nature/motives of the secular movement in Albania); comparison with other countries;
- How political contexts and policies in places have affected developments in teacher education in parts of ethnic Albania? In what ways are they different from each other?

Group two:

- Decentralization of teacher education – an imperative for teacher education in Albania; its possible implications in terms of control, efficient use of expertise, meeting the needs of research, funding, and sustainability.
- In service training: how effective are the strategies used and what could be some of the criteria for assessing effectiveness?
- Research on variables which affect professional learning and development and the limitations of current approaches. How do the models used connect to knowledge of teacher learning?
- Issues of participation and equity of training (equal opportunities especially in in-service training; discrepancies between the various areas and some possible solutions)

- How do teachers learn about teaching on the job? Why do they change (or not)? When do they learn the most? Can we speak of reflection in teacher development in Albania? If yes, what is its nature and role?
- What influences success in teaching over a career? Factors that influence teacher development (lives, conditions, school leadership culture)? How do they impact on teacher development? What are the relationships between teachers and the arenas in which they act?
- How does the constant pool of the unqualified teachers in Albania, growing or shrinking in response to events, which are mostly not educational at all, govern both government policy and pupils' experience?

Section 2

Chapter three

BREAKING AWAY FROM THE TURKISH INFLUENCE

(1830-1912)

The Ottoman control hindering education developments

In the 19th century the power of the Ottoman Empire was in the decline. Independence was an everyday question for every country, which tried to find its own identity, its sovereignty and its national language. In the Balkans, although slowed down by geographical remoteness and rule from Constantinople, the march of the Balkan peoples towards independence quickened as the 19th century advanced.

Before the Albanians came under the Ottoman rule, they were a Christian population. With the invasion of Albania from the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century, the majority of the population converted to Moslems. The five-century Turkish rule and the internal social divisions among the Albanians as well as the fears of the Ottoman Empire losing its Albanian-populated lands to the emerging Balkan states – Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece meant that Albanians were the last of the Balkan people to develop a national consciousness. Consequently, they won their independence later than the other peoples in the Balkans did.

The feudal system in Albania, while it was still under the Ottoman Empire, had begun to deteriorate and the first capitalist tradelinks had emerged. Albania was an essentially agricultural country: wealth was heavily invested in livestock rather than in industry and the population was predominantly rural. 98 % of the population was illiterate (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990).

In order to strengthen the central and military Ottoman power, in the first part of the 20th century, the Subleme Porte* adopted a number of actions, called the *Tantimatti**, an Arabic word meaning *reform*.

With these reforms the Sublime Porte promised to guarantee the life, assets, honour and beliefs of all its citizens regardless of their religion or nationality, to reduce taxes for villagers and replace the old administration with a new one instead based on European models. Also, a new administrative division was decided; Albania was divided into four administrative regions called *vilayets**: the vilayet of Kosova, Shkodra, Ioannina and Monastir (Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, 1994). (see fig 1)

The Albanian people did not welcome the *Tantimatti* reforms, because the Ottoman government applied the *Millet system**. It identified nationalities with religion and considered the Moslems of the Empire to be “Turks” while the orthodox Albanians to be *Greeks* or *Rumë** who were under the supervision of the Greek Patrikana of Istanbul*. The *Latins* of the Empire were also considered to be a separate nationality. As the Albanian population was divided into three religions, it was not considered to be one single nationality. Consequently, while the Ottoman government acknowledged the right of the Christian population to be educated in their mother tongue in their public schools, with Albanians this was not the case. As a result they could go to Turkish, Greek and Latin schools respectively. There were only Turkish, Greek, and Italo-Latin schools, which offered education for the Moslem and the Christian population. Education was based on religion and influenced by the Turkish education system (Historia e Shqipërisë 1954).

The normal schools in Albania during the Ottoman rule

Until the *Tantimatti* reforms came into effect in 1844, the job of a teacher was done by *hoxhallarë* (Moslem priests), imams*, hatibs* and the *muderriz**. Teachers taught in elementary schools (*sibjan mektebi*), *rushtiye* and *idadije**, in the *xhami** and *teqe**. Private schools were under the supervision of the Meshihati (Shejhulislamlleku), head of the Moslem religion. The Higher school was inside the Emperor's building (Enderun), which trained specialists to work in state administration.

In the context of the *Tantimatti reforms*, the government of Istanbul (babi-Ali) faced the dilemma of how to modernize and westernize Turkish society without at the same time, feeding nationalist sentiments in non-Turkish regions. It carried out social, cultural, judicial and administrative reforms and opened modern elementary, secondary and higher schools.

The work to establish a western education system started from the higher level and not from primary education. Instead of opening primary schools first, higher-level schools were opened at the outset. Teachers from the army called *caushë** and young officers who had no knowledge of psychology and pedagogy were hired to teach in these schools. This issue was discussed in the first Ottoman Parliament (Mebusan Meclisi) in 1876 in which a project for the improvement of Ottoman schools was presented. Issues with regard to the importance of education based on western models, the education of women and family education were also addressed:

“The foundations of a nation and a state consist of a comprehensive education and a justice system, which is applied by its officials. In our country these have a lot of drawbacks. If the foundations are ruined, then what is the value of the building? However hard one may work, success is not guaranteed... The people need to be civilized after the western model. I am not aware of Anatolia*, but I am informing you that in Rumeli* there are no schools at all in villages... Nobody knows how to write even his own name! But education starts with the family... First, mothers and girls should be educated ... So, when are we going to wake up from this sound sleep?

(Prizren Birligi ve Arnavutlar, Ankara - 1978, Necip P. Alpan, p. 37-38)

The new modern schools needed teachers with high quality pedagogical training. Therefore, the new teachers were trained either in European schools or in schools of the Ottoman Empire. However, the majority of the pupils who studied in Europe, particularly in Paris or London, did not return after completing their studies. Hoxhë Hasan Tahsin Filati* from Chamëria (South of Albania), did return after finishing his studies in Paris. He came back to Istanbul and was nominated as the first rector of the university of Istanbul (Istanbul Darulfununu) founded in 1868. With his secular ideas he was a

strong opposition to the Ottoman Empire. As a result, he was nicknamed “hoxhë kaurri” meaning “orthodox Moslem priest”. Four years later, in 1872, he was sacked from the university.

During the period of the Ottoman Empire teachers were trained only in Turkish teacher preparation schools called *Dar-yl-muallimin* or Greek teacher preparation schools called, *Didaskalion*. This model of training teachers within the elementary school system was the common model of the time in countries such as France and England (Beattie, 2003). By the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, Turkish and Greek Normal Schools were also opened in the Albanian populated *vilayets*. Their number increased as a counterbalance to the opening of the Albanian schools by the Albanian diaspora (Osmani, 1998).

The first Turkish *dar-yl-mualimin* was opened on 16 March 1848, in one of Istanbul’s hamlets called *Fatih*. Later in 1852, the Turkish government decided to open seventeen more boys’ schools in *Rumeli**, seven in *Anatolia** and three in the Aegean Sea. In 1868 it was decided to open the *High Normal schools* for the preparation of teachers and professors for normal schools. In 1870, the Normal school for the preparation of women teachers called *Dar-yl-mualimat* was opened and later in 1881 its status was defined (Alpan, 1978).

The Turkish Normal Schools for men were of four-year duration. The Turkish normal schools for ladies, *dar-yl-mualimat* were based on the five-year elementary school. Non-Moslem pupils were also admitted in order to give the school a secular character (Abazi, 1997). The curriculum was approved by the Ministry of Education, Constantinople*. It comprised psychology, pedagogy, philosophy, crafts, singing, ethics, oriental languages and French. *Kuran* and *religion* were also taught. Pupils were required to do *hospitim** once a week, in the elementary schools of the town. Admission to the school was on a contractual basis whereby the student was required to teach for ten years following graduation.

By the end of the 20th century a *dar-yl-mualimin* was opened in Scopie with branch in Prizren. It was a boarding school and was headed by a group of qualified teachers. It became recognized as one of the most prestigious *dar-yl-mualimin* in the Balkans (Rexhepagiq, 1972, p.140). The majority of pupils came from Kosova, with only a few from Macedonia. Another *dar-yl-mualimin* was opened in the *vilayet* of Monastir of four-year duration to prepare elementary school teachers. Pupils came from Monastir, Follorina (region now part of Greece), Korcha, Elbasan, Ohrid, Dibra and Struga (the last three now part of Macedonia). The school also had a dormitory where pupils from remote areas could attend. The exact year of its opening is unknown, but it is believed to be one of the first schools for the preparation of teachers in the Albanian territory. In 1912 a second establishment was opened in Ioannina (Osmani, 1998).

Until 1864 initial teacher training in Greece was provided in the *didaskalions*. They accepted graduates of secondary schools (gymnasium) or primary schools (Alexopoulou, 1998). In 1873, in the south of Albania, with the financial support of Kristaq Efendi Zografia, a rich and knowledgeable man, two *didaskalions* were opened in Qestorat, Djirokastra district (A.Popullor 1956, No.12. pp. 65-66). These were known by the name *the Normal Schools of Qestorat*. These were schools for boys (of three year duration) and for girls (of two year duration) and trained pupils to teach in the villages of Epirus* (South of Albania). Pupils from Djirokastra, Himara, Elbasan, and Berat and many other villages in Ioannina attended. Both Moslem and Orthodox pupils could attend. The school was headed by Aleksander Zamaria, who had studied in Germany and Switzerland. The teaching staff was made up of two headteachers and nine teachers. Both teachers and pupils received financial support from Kristaq Efendi. The school was supervised by the *Metropolit** and the Greek Consulate. They had the power to appoint, transfer and fire teachers in case they did not comply with the rules of the Patrikana of Constantinople*.

These schools were religious and their aim was to produce teachers devoted to the Christian religion. Regardless of the religious character, the content of the curriculum included pedagogic knowledge and

emphasis was placed on the acquisition of teaching skills. For boys pedagogy was delivered in the three grades. In the first grade pupils learned about the mission of the teacher, in the second about the history of pedagogy, in the third about methodology. They were also provided with some instructions as to how to work in the elementary school. Pupils also had some practical training. Psychology was taught in the second grade, while “logic and moral education” were taught in the third grade.

In the normal school for girls, psychology was taught according to this sequence: in the first grade pedagogy on children and hygiene (edukata e fëmijëve dhe higjiena), in the second grade practical training based on Frobel’s theory concerning work in kindergartens. Instruction was conducted in Greek. French and Turkish languages were also taught but the Albanian language was absolutely prohibited. Instruction in Albanian was introduced in secret when Koto Hoxhi* came to teach in the school. Pupils who were caught speaking in Albanian were severely punished. “Lirija” newspaper of 1 June 1984 quotes Koto Hoxhi commenting that teachers were killed “not for church and mosque, but for instruction, civilization, for Albania”. This comment led him to prison first in Djirakastra then he was “entombed alive” in the infamous Jedikule in the Turkish capital where he died lamed and dehumanized by his sufferings in 1895 (Dako, S. 1938, p. 59-60, quoted in Jacques, 1995, p. 291).

In 1908 an Albanian school was also opened in the Chamëria region, in the Filat region (Myzyri, 1978). This same year in Chamëria a secondary school for the preparation of teachers for schools in the south of Albania was opened in the village of Filat in Chamëria (Gecaj, 2000).

Efforts for the revival of Albanian education

To further apply its policy the Ottoman government employed a “divide and rule” strategy, which involved the Moslem, Orthodox and Catholic clergy. According to this policy the opening of schools, which could have offered education in Albanian, was not allowed while it was seen by the Ottoman government as a *sine qua none* for Albania’s unity and freedom.

The denationalizing policy of the Sublime Porte brought about fierce reactions from Albanians. Many uprisings burst out led by iluminists*, but these were sporadic in the beginning. Before long the struggle started to be more organized. Its aim was not only to free the country from the Ottoman rule but also to create an Albanian state (Myzyri, 1973). This movement is known in Albanian history by the name "*Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare*."

The *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare* was influenced by enlightenment revolution in Europe. However, the European enlightenment movement focused on the civilization of the society. It abolished dogmatism and traditional approaches by setting up an education system where the development of the personality of the child was crucial. While the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare* was a vast political movement, which focused on the struggle for freedom and independence and used education as a vehicle to achieve this goal. It aimed at unifying the Albanian territory into a single Albanian state and at developing the Albanian language, education and culture.

Albanians began to demand autonomy and administration of the Albanian territory by Albanians. But the religious division of the Albanian population and the lack of a common language were a big stumbling block. Turkish and Greek were the only languages taught in schools and consequently the need for a common language and education in the native tongue emerged. This was however an enormous task to be realized in a country where 98 % of the population was illiterate. Therefore development of education in Albania focused mainly on 1) education for all in order to tackle illiteracy, 2) education in the mother tongue, and 3) patriotic education*.

The teaching of the Albanian language became a priority. In order for the people to learn the Albanian language there was need for one common alphabet. At that time three alphabets were used to write Albanian: the Latin, Arabic and the Greek alphabet. Therefore the illuminists focused their efforts on establishing a common Albanian alphabet. The first efforts were made in 1844 by Naum Veqilharxhi*

with his first ABC book with 32 letters called “Evëtare”*, published in Romania. He considered education in the mother tongue as very important for the mental development of the child. As the number of foreign schools was increasing at that time, he proposed the opening of the Albanian schools with a democratic and non-religious character after the model of the advanced nations (Historia e Arsimit shqiptar, 1990).

Efforts for a common alphabet and the teaching of the Albanian language were carried on by Kostandin Kristoforidhi*. In 1867 he published an ABC book in the *gheg** dialect and in 1868 one in the *tosk** dialect. He also translated “The New Testament” in both dialects. In the books he wrote for the Albanian children, he used excerpts from the Bible “to provide the Albanian children with proper education” (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990, p. 78). This implied that children would also learn values. In spite of the big efforts for a relatively long time, a common alphabet came finally into being in 1879 known as “The Alphabet of Istanbul” (Myzyri, 1973).

The illuminists saw the teaching of the Albanian language and the opening of the Albanian schools closely connected with the liberation of the country from the Ottoman rule. By that time, in many countries education in the mother tongue had assumed priority. Pashko Vasa* in his book “The truth on Albania and the Albanians” considered the native tongue as a prerequisite for the psycho-intellectual and physical development and patriotic education of the younger generation. In the same way Jani Vreto* asserted the importance of the native language in the education of people because in his view:

“The native language is the only means for spiritual enlightenment and a nation which does not write in its own language, cannot only be enlightened, but it cannot even contribute, through its language, to the development of science and civilization”

(Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar 1990, p. 86)

Sami Frashëri* pointed out that a single Albanian language was a precondition for the existence of an Albanian nation (Myzyri, 1973, p. 38). Efforts to teach the Albanian language were made as far as the *Arbëresh** community in Italy and Greece. Jeronim De Rada* an Arbëresh, taught Albanian in San Adrian College (Il Collegio di S. Adriano, 1876) in Italy for a number of years. Due to his efforts the Albanian language department was opened in the college. Also, in the 1870s an evening school was opened for the Arbëresh and an Albanian ABC book was published.

As Albanian language education was banned, the *itinerant teachers* started to play an important role. They taught Albanian to people by going to their homes in secret. Itinerant teachers were either linguists or outstanding scholars who were highly motivated to teach their mother tongue to their fellow countrymen. They had no teaching qualifications. Teaching was not conducted according to a fixed programme and schedule. Textbooks were given to pupils for free. Churches started to be used for teaching the Albanian language. Albanian was also taught in prisons to the *komitë* (outlaws). Itinerant teachers, in most cases, remained anonymous. Their commitment was made public by their pupils who passed on their names to the following generations (Kraja, 1993). According to Dr Koburja (an Albanian scholar) Kristoforidhi's work as an itinerant teacher had attracted the interest of British educators as this this phenomenon was unknown to them. They were so impressed by the efforts of Albanians to acquire education "without having a school"(Dodani 1930, p.32).

The opening of the schools and Albanian language education called for an Albanian education system. The illuminists thought of setting up an Albanian education system. To this end in 1870 Zef Jubani* worked out an education platform for the development of education in Albania. He opted for the establishment of an Albanian education system free from the Turkish influence and suggested the opening of Albanian schools in every region, the nomination of Albanian teachers in these schools and the opening of a *gymnazial college** in order to provide a broader scope of knowledge. This would be a non-religious school. The movement for a secular school was emphasized in Pashko Vasa's* saying

“Religion of the Albanians is Albanianism*”. In his book “The truth on Albania and the Albanians” he strongly expressed that “Albanian education should have a national character, be totally in line with the psychology of Albanians and should aim at developing intelligentsia, prosperity and military potential of the country” (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar 1990, p. 87).

As the Ottoman Empire grew weaker, the Albanian iluminist movement gained ground. During the years 1878-1881 the Albanian National movement became more organized as a result of the creation of a political organization called *The Prizren League** (Lidhja Shqiptare e Prizrenit). The memorandum of the Prizren League, dated 27.XII.1294 (1878) put forward the following points to the Ottoman government:

- unification of the entire Albanian territory into one single state and determining the capital city of Albania;
- civil servants who worked in state administration were required to speak Albanian;
- education should be spread throughout the country and the teaching of Albanian language be compulsory in all schools;
- a General Council should be established in the center of the unified *vilayets*;
- part of the income should be used for education and publications.

(Zylfiu, 1980, p. 14)

In 1879 Ymer Prizreni, the head of the Prizren League, demanded that the Albanian language be used in schools and the management of education by Albanians. Albanian intellectuals in the late 20th century began to use a single, standard Albanian and demanded that it be also used in schools. In Constantinople, Sami Frashëri* founded a cultural and educational organization in 1879, the *Society for the Printing of Albanian writings* (Shoqëria e të Shtypurit të Shkronjave shqip). The membership comprised Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox Albanians. Naim Frashëri*, his brother, also joined the

society. He wrote and edited textbooks for the Albanian schools which opened later. Albanian emigrees in Bulgaria, Egypt, Italy, Romania and the United States supported the society's work.

In 1881 the Prizren League was suppressed and the efforts of the Ottoman government to hinder Albanian language education and the opening of the Albanian schools were intensified. The Greek clergy did the same by increasing the number of Greek schools especially in the Korcha region (southeast of Albania).

The opening of the Albanian schools would enable the Albanian people to speak a common language. The issue of the Albanian language and the independence of the country were closely connected. On the one hand Albanian language education would help to achieve the major goal: bringing Albanians together in one single nation. On the other hand the existence and survival of the Albanian school would only be possible in an independent Albania. But the independence of the country could not be achieved without raising awareness and educating the people. People should first be educated in order to raise their national awareness and then organize themselves in the struggle for independence. Therefore, new paths had to be sought. The Albanian patriots in Korcha, Istanbul and Bucharest began their efforts for the creation of the Albanian national secular school. Sami and Naim Frashëri managed to get permission from the Sublime Porte, for the opening of the school. As a result of these efforts, on 7 March 1887 the first Albanian *Mësonjëtorë* (school, a word derived from the Albanian word *mësoj* (learn) was opened in Korcha. Initially the school had 35 pupils and was for both boys and girls (Myzyri, 1972, p.62) and with Pandeli Sotiri* a physician by profession, as its headmaster. Initially it had four grades and a *përgatitore** (kindergarten). All subjects were taught in Albanian. The textbooks used had been written by iluminists, mainly Naim Frashëri. They were published in Bucharest since 1886. They included Naim Frashëri's books *Poems for the first Albanian schools*, *General history*, *Science*, *History of Albania* and Jani Vreto's books *Civic education*, *Geography* and Sami Frashëri's

books *The Albanian ABC book*, the *Reading book*, the *book of Albanian Writing*. In addition the French and Greek languages were also taught (see Fig 2).

The school was open to children from towns and villages, children from all walks of life and religious background. The Albanian patriots began to be even more ambitious. They suggested that:

“there is need for the first Albanian school to become a college where, in addition to Albanian, other languages like French, German, Turkish and Greek be taught. For the time being this is done for the sake of those who are semi Greek, so that ... the nation and the boys will benefit”

(Myzyri, *Shkollat e para kombetare shqipe*, 1978, p. 197)

The opening of the first Albanian school encouraged the opening of other schools in other parts of Albania such as Pogradec, Kolonjë and Prizren (1889), but qualified teachers were missing in these schools. Schools in Albania existed since in the Middle Ages, but the Albanian *Mësonjëtorë* in Korcha is believed to be the first school in Albania to have a national, democratic and secular character in which Albanian language was used as the language of instruction and all the teaching personnel were Albanian. Later the curriculum in the first *Mësonjëtorë* comprised of ten subject areas, which included Geography, Zoology, Anatomy, Geography, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Arithmetics and Geometry. Education through labour was also introduced into the curriculum in order to get rid of poverty and encourage people to work. The curriculum in the Albanian schools of that time focused on patriotic* education, which was achieved through the teaching of the mother tongue and the teaching of history, geography and literature of Albania. The teachers introduced a democratic spirit in the school, quite different from the Turkish schools where teaching was pedantic and was disciplined through corporal punishment. Teachers did not apply the traditional teaching methods used in the Turkish schools where learning by heart and rote repetition prevailed. Attention was paid to moral

education. Teaching was intended to fit to the peculiarities of the individual, specific ages and to link theory with practice.

These positive steps met with the resistance of the feudal Ottoman Empire and Greek Orthodox Clergy. Their opposition to everyone who struggled to sustain the Albanian schools was bitter and unrelenting to the extreme of murdering teachers. They cursed and assassinated the iluminists. Priests went to teachers' homes and exerted pressure or called them in the Metropoli* and promised high salaries. Indeed, the Greek despot* cursed not only the teachers who taught in the Albanian schools, but also the pupils and their parents. In revenge it prohibited the priests to celebrate church services for these people for marriage, baptisms and funerals. For instance, Helidhona Falli, a woman teacher, was threatened with death and the despot cursed her publicly. When her sister, who attended the Albanian school in Korcha, died, the church refused to bury her and she was buried after three days, when her family managed to find a priest (Myzyri, 1973).

The Ottoman government went so far as to order the expulsion of the Albanian children from the Albanian schools in Korcha. It also banned books in the Albanian language and even the use of the Albanian language as a means of communication. Under these conditions, the situation of the Albanian teachers became extremely difficult. The "Shqipëria (Albania)" newspaper based in Bucharest described the tasks of the Albanian teacher as "very heavy" and felt sorry for "the poor teacher" who "had to face a lot of sadness, risks and imprisonment" (Gazeta "Shqipëria", No. 13, 1897, Bucharest p.4)

Under the pressure of the Metropoli of Korcha and the Patriarch of Constantinople*, the authorities began to close the Albanian schools. All the schools that had been opened in 1888 were closed down. The only one that survived, with difficulty, was the one in Korcha. It faced continuous attacks and in 1891, the first director of the school, Pandeli Sotiri died after he was thrown from the third floor of a building. Other teachers such as Djok Shqiptari* (killed), Petro Nini Luarasi* (poisoned), had a tragic

end because of their strong commitment to the Albanian school. With these extreme difficulties the *Mësonjëtorë* managed to survive until 1902.

In 1899 in Bucharest, Sami Frashëri developed a project, which he published, under the title "*Albania - what it has been like in the past - what it is like at present - and what it will be like in the future*" (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990, p. 116). The project envisaged the development of education in an independent Albania. He stated that only Albanian language be used as the language of instruction. The project adhered to secular education, open to all men and women alike, compulsory and free of charge. He foresaw compulsory education for children aged 7-13 without sex distinctions and secular and that the new school should be a place where patriotic education and comprehensive knowledge was provided. He proposed that 2000 elementary schools, 30 secondary schools, both general and vocational schools and 3 universities be opened in Albania, one in the capital, one in the north and one in the south, which would train specialists for industry and agriculture, and one Higher Military school. He envisaged two Foreign Language schools in the Capital City and one Academy of Sciences.

The new proposed education system adhered to the educational character of teaching, the role of school as the place for educating people, the unification of the Albanian language and the feeling of national awareness - all of these being linked with the issue of gaining independence. Unlike the Turkish education system this one advocated the teaching of "*edukatë*"* i.e. values, as a separate subject. Special importance was paid to education through labour (*edukata e punës*) as an important factor, which contributed to the physical and mental development of the child. Sami Frashëri advocated the method in which reason would be the way to motivate children and not corporal punishment as education through violence could not lead to a long-term effect. The combination of labour, learning, entertainment and relaxation of children was considered as important in the learning process of pupils. He argued that education and behaviour differ from country to country due to the particularities of these countries and the type of education provided.

Sami Frashëri was supportive of the idea that education has the greatest impact at a younger age. Therefore, he appreciated the role of pre-school education. He valued the work of teachers, particularly of junior elementary school teachers, and disagreed with some people who thought that teaching little children how to read was an easy task. However, he left this category of schooling with the family and not with the specialised institutions. He laid great emphasis on the role of women in the education of children, which may be an indication that he was influenced by Pestalozzi. At the same time this was contradictory as he was in favour of women being involved in the social development.

In the last decade of the 19th century, the number of schools in Albania increased, but there was a shortage of teachers to teach in the newly opened schools. In addition, teachers' pedagogic skills were very limited. There were very few teachers, and whoever knew how to read and write the Albanian language could work as a teacher. The teaching of Albanian language was considered a patriotic duty. The Greeks, who dominated the education of Orthodox Albanians, joined the Turks in suppressing Albania's culture, and Albanian- language education in particular. The ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople threatened to excommunicate anyone found reading or writing Albanian, and priests taught that God would not understand prayers uttered in Albanian.

Regardless of the pressure by the Ottoman government and particularly the Greek Orthodox clergy, the Albanian patriots* did not cease in their efforts to teach the Albanian language. Babë Dudë Karbunara, an itinerant teacher, read the Gospel in Albanian during the celebration of the mass, even chanting the Psalms in his mother tongue. This annoyed the Greek orthodox clergy. Fanatics sprinkled his home with kerosene and burned him out in 1895. Neighbours helped rescue the family, but he lost virtually everything else. Equally dramatic was the fate of Papa Kristo Negovani*, an Albanian priest of the Greek Orthodox Church, from Follorina (now part of Greece). While teaching in school for several years, he secretly encouraged instruction in Albanian. He was threatened and later on imprisoned in Monastir; but he never seized in his efforts to teach Albanian. One dark night, on February 12th, 1905, assassins sent by his bishop, cut his body to pieces with knives and hatchets

and displayed it in the streets. That same night his brother was also killed and five years later, his 30 year-old nephew had the same tragic end (Jacques, 1995).

Preparation of women teachers – The Young Ladies' School (Shkolla e Vashave)

The national movement for the independence of Albania called for the involvement of women, as an important part of society. At that time Albanian society was remarkably patriarchal and was dominated by men. This backward mentality did not allow for the education of women and they were confined within the walls of their houses. Nothing had been done for the education of women until that time, consequently, women could not go to school and take an active part in the development of the country. To this end Abdyl Frashëri* in his speech on January 14th 1878, expressed his views in the Ottoman Parliament concerning the position of women and the importance of their education as well as the crucial role of Albanian women in the development of the society. He argued that:

“We should also be concerned about the education of women and bear in mind that men’s education is closely related with the education of women. If the mother is ignorant, the child will be uneducated, will have no morals and no character”.

(Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar 1990, p.173)

Therefore, efforts to open a school for young women began on the ground that a nation could not progress if women, who constitute half of the population, stay indoors and remain uneducated (Historiku i arsimit të rrethit të Korçës deri në vitin 1912 No. 18/18/468, p. 13). On October 23rd 1891, two sisters, Sevasti and Parasqevi Qiriazhi*, also known Kyrias, opened the *Young Ladies' School* in Korcha with Sevasti as its headmistress.

The two Sisters had received their initial education in a Greek school in Monastir. Later, their father encouraged his daughters to continue their studies in the school of Samokova in Bulgaria supported by the *Protestant Gospel Association*. Later they studied in the Women's College of Constantinople in 1888 and 1900. Sevasti attended postgraduate studies in the University of Chicago (1905) and Parasqevi in the Oberlin College in Ohio (1912). They were the first Albanian women to attend postgraduate studies.

The *Young Ladies' School* was of a secular character and admitted Moslem and Christian pupils regardless of their social status. In the beginning it had only three pupils. But by the end of the first school year, the number had increased to 27 and in the second year to 50. The teaching staff had higher education except for three teachers who joined the staff later after they had completed their studies at the *Young Ladies' School*; they taught in the junior elementary level. In 1900 –1901 the school became a boarding school for the Albanian young women. This enabled young women from other remote regions of Albania to attend it (Osmani, 1998).

The *Young Ladies' School* was structured according to European models, which had a five-year primary school, four to five-year junior secondary complementary schools and three to four year senior secondary schools. Initially the Ladies' School had only four grades in addition to the elementary school. After 1902 the number of years increased to five. Instruction of all subjects was conducted in Albanian.

The curriculum of the *Young Ladies' School* comprised eighteen subjects, which included history and geography of Albania, general history, history of nature, Albanian grammar, English, Greek, and science. Pupils started school at the age of seven or a little older and finished it at the age of 18-20. The quality of the school was so good that the Austro-Hungarian Consul in Monastir commented, "The Bulgarian-British School in Monastir has been enviously looking at the development of the Young Ladies' School in Korcha...." (Myzyri 1978, p. 207)

The pupils who graduated this school worked as teachers in the Albanian schools. So, in the following years, in addition to general knowledge, they learned about the teaching skills. In a way, the school functioned as a teacher preparation institution. For this reason, in his book “Motrat Qiriazhi” (The Kyrias Sisters) Dhimitër Dishnica (1998) considers The *Young Ladies’ School* as the pioneer school for the preparation of teachers.

Although the number of young ladies attending school increased, the need for teachers for the new Albanian schools could not be met. Therefore, whoever could read and write was allowed to teach. However, the involvement of the unqualified teachers was considered to be inappropriate. In an article called: “Educational Issues” Parasqevi considered the lack of teacher qualification as harmful and argued that:

“One cannot become a teacher simply because of his reading and writing skills; otherwise he/she not only can’t be called a teacher but he/she is also dangerous”

(Dishnica, 1998, p. 59)

The Young Ladies’ School faced the strong opposition of the Turkish feudal mentality and especially of the Moslem and Orthodox religious leaders. In 1904 the Turkish government prohibited Albanian Moslem girls to attend the Young Ladies’ School and the opening of other schools. Regardless of this pressure more Albanian schools were opened and Albanian teachers were willing to teach in the newly opened Albanian schools for a smaller salary. In order to strengthen the position of the Young Ladies’ School and to ensure its continuity, the Albanian patriots made it public that the Young Ladies’ School was linked to the American Mission in Monastir and called it “the American Educational Institute”. But this effort yielded no effect. The Albanian language was no longer taught and only English and Greek books were used regardless of the fact that the pupils did not speak either of these languages.

The role of the Albanian diaspora in the preparation of teachers for Albania's schools

Regardless of the efforts of the Ottoman Government and the clergy to hinder the opening of new schools, the number of Albanian schools was increasing. The number of teachers was insufficient and the need to have a school for the preparation of teachers emerged. As this was not possible in the country because of the severe Ottoman pressure, the Albanian diaspora played a crucial role in this process. Patriotic Albanian associations outside the country were highly involved in this effort. Thus on May 10th 1892, at the initiative of the "Drita" Association in Bucharest, the Normal school of the "Drita" Association was opened by an Albanian, Nikolla Nacho* with the support of Romanian intellectuals. He was the headmaster of the schools while the pedagogic leader of the school was the outstanding Romanian academician, Bogdan P. Hazhdeu*, a philologist who was proficient in Albanian.

The mission of the school was to prepare Albanian teachers outside the Ottoman Empire. By that time the Romanian government already had a network of normal schools for the preparation of elementary school teachers and had some experience in this direction. Osmani (1998) has identified several factors, which made possible the opening of this school.

- 1) At that time there was a large Albanian community in Romania. In the Vllach*region there were 20,000 Albanians and the opening of this school was seen as necessary and received support from the Albanian community in Romania.
- 2) The establishment of this institution was in line with the interests of the Romanian government as it had an interest in the *Vlach** population. For political purposes he would refer to the school sometimes "the Albanian – Vlach school" and sometimes "The School for the Albanian language".
- 3) Scanderbeg's wars had aroused the interest of the Romanian people at that time. Since 1592 the poem "Historia e Gjergj Kastriotit të Madh" (A magy Castriot Gyorgyneck... historiaja) of Nikolo

Bogati Fazekas*, a summary of poems of the History of Barlet*, was published for the second time in Kluj (Romania). This had created a good image of Albanians.

4) Outstanding figures of Albanian origin such as Jon Gjika and Elena Gjika* (Dora d'Istria*) had contributed to Romanian history and culture creating a strong bond between the two nations.

Initially the school was known by the name *The Normal school of the "Drita" Association* or *The Albanian Normal school* (Shkolla Normale Albaneze). In the Romanian circles it was known by the name *Institut Kultural*, while the European circles called it "Institut de Kultural". It had only 15 pupils at the outset. They came from all regions of Albania: both from the *tosk** (*toskëria**) and the *gheg** region (*gegëria**). Religious backgrounds were not taken into account and pupils from the three religions were admitted. Pupils from distant regions stayed in the dormitory. Teaching was conducted in both the Albanian and Romanian languages.

There is no exact evidence concerning the textbooks that were used but it is believed that textbooks were both in Romanian and Albanian languages. The texts, which were used, were "Gramatica limbii albaneze (Gramatika e gjuhës shqipe) designed by Hazhdeu, "Lecitja shqipe" (Albanian Reading) of J.R.L.I Terova. Other textbooks were publications of the "Drita "Association (Kraja, 1983).

Pupils who graduated this school were called "apostles" because of their mission to teach the Albanian language and to contribute to the national Albanian issue. According to the rules of the school, upon completion, pupils were sent to teach, at the Association's expense, in the schools of Albania and the Albanian communities in Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Russia, Italy, and Austro-Hungary. However, limited resources and shortage of Albanian qualified teachers did not allow the school to consolidate and function as a strong teacher training institution. As a result of these difficulties it only operated for seven years and in 1899 it closed.

Efforts to open schools for the preparation of teachers continued also in other countries, where there were Albanian communities. In the second half of the 19th century, with the help of the Austro-

Hungarian government in Arbnesht*, a rural area of the city of Zarrë, in Dalmatia (Croatia), a normal school for girls and boys was opened. Since 1726 a large number of Albanian emigrants had settled in the village of Zarrë, Arbnesht. In the beginning of the 20th century, when it was part of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, education made good progress. There were several schools and in some of them Albanian language courses were offered. In 1901 Albanian language education started in the Croat normal school in the Zarrë village. The school also had a mentor school for boys, which comprised 6 classes. By way of this school the Austrian-Hungarians aimed to extend their political and cultural influence by using the clergy and the teachers who were trained in the school. In the beginning, the Albanian language was not compulsory, as was the case with the Italian and German languages. It became compulsory for the *Arbëresh** of Zarrë later (Veseli, 2000. p. 87) at the request of the people living in this area who wanted their children to be taught by Albanian teachers (Osmani, 1983).

In 1905 another normal branch for boys (*Scuola normale maschile paregiata*) was opened in the Arbëresh College of San Adrian, which in 1834, was called “The Arbëresh Kirsini College”. In 1849 it had played a significant role with the creation of the Albanian Department in the college. In the beginning of the 20th century it was a religious seminary but later changed into a secular institution. It comprised the following structure:

- the primary school, which also functioned as a mentor school;
- the five-year gymnasium (secondary school, the first three years *junior gymnasium* (gjimnaz i ulët) and the other two *senior gymnasium* (gjimnaz i lartë);
- the three-year lyceum.

The three-year Normal branch was based on the three-year junior gymnasium (gjimnaz i ulët), which correspondence pupils could also attend.

This school, like all the other teacher preparation schools, failed to consolidate as a teacher training school. They only met the need for teachers in certain areas. The issue of the preparation of teachers

for the entire Albanian territory remained unsettled. The increase in the network of schools called for the preparation of teachers in the country. Consequently, the imperative to establish an organised system for the preparation of teachers for Albanian schools emerged.

The establishment of an organized system for the preparation of teachers: the Normal school of Elbasan (1909)

Under the conditions in which the Ottoman Empire was in decline, the hopes of Albanians to have their own independent state increased. During the first decade of the 20th century, the Young Turks* lifted the Ottoman ban on Albanian-language schools and on writing the Albanian language. Under the conditions in which 90 % of the population was illiterate (Osmani, 1998) the education of people became imperative. It was a prerequisite for independence that people should be educated in order to understand the new developments in the country and to be actively involved. Books were needed in order for the people to understand the new situation. The need to develop a mass education system catering for all sectors of the population emerged, and a number of schools were opened. However, the development of a common alphabet so that people could understand each other remained unresolved at this time and called for an urgent solution.

In 1908 convened in Bitola, Monastir, the *Congress of Monastir*. The 50 delegates who took part in the proceedings were linguists and patriots from the four vilayets. The only woman who took part in this Congress was Sevasti Kyrias (Qiriazhi). This event also brought together Albanian patriots from Sofia, Bucharest, Egypt, Italy and USA. Because the main issue on the agenda was the unification of the Albanian alphabet, it is known as the *AB Congress*. The Congress decided that two alphabets could be used: the *Istanbul alphabet** (Alfabeti i Stambollit) and the *Latin Alphabet* until another solution would be agreed upon. But the Latin alphabet spread more rapidly because following the changes that were made in it, technically speaking it was easier and more appropriate. The Latin alphabet was even supported by the Moslem priests such as Hafiz Ali Korcha. Because of his stand he was nicknamed

“llatinxhi” (Ahmeti, 1999), the Albanian suffix “xhi” giving the word “latin” a pejorative meaning to describe someone who was in favour of the Latin alphabet.

It had become apparent to all progressive Albanians that the establishment of an Albanian school system was an important factor to win independence. Both the Turkish government and the Greek Orthodox Church feared the teaching of the Albanian language and any patriotic sentiments. Thus the establishment of an Albanian school system faced three great problems: obstacles from Greek and Turkish authorities, lack of money and lack of qualified teachers. During 2-9 September 1909 the Congress on Education was held in Elbasan, the heartland of Albania. One of the most important decisions it adopted was the opening of the Normal school of Elbasan to train young men as elementary school teachers. Article III of the Congress stated:

“a school for teachers of a six-year course which will be maintained by clubs and associations as well as by the entire people who struggle for the progress of the Albanian nation”

(Trëndafili 1999, p. 14)

On December 1st, 1909, the Normal school of Elbasan was opened. It was supported financially by the “Përparimi (Progress)” Association of Korcha, which was charged by the Education Congress of Elbasan to take care of the Normal school in Elbasan and of all the other Albanian education schools. It was also to help with the printing of textbooks, which were approved by a Commission of the *Përparimi Association* (Normalisti 1934, No. 4-5).

The opening of the Normal School was mainly due to the people’s thirst for education. They called it “Our school” and “the school for the *vegjëli* i.e. the poor people”. There were also other important factors, which influenced on the opening of the Normal School in Elbasan: to mention some of them,

- 1) Elbasan, had the reputation of a city of tolerance and hospitality, which would make it easier for pupils from all parts of Albania and from different religions to attend their studies.
- 2) Elbasan had a strong tradition in education as many education advocates came from Elbasan. 3) The geographical position of Elbasan was favourable. It is “the belly button of Albania”. The Shkumbini River, along which Elbasan is located, was considered to be right in the middle of north and south of Albania and could be equally accessible for the pupils coming from various regions of the country.
- 4) The Elbasan dialect (*Elbasanishtja*) was easier to be understood by both the *ghegs* and the *tosks* and would help pupils from all parts of Albania to understand one another with ease.

The mission of the school was to train elementary school teachers. They would teach in the elementary schools in the villages of Albania, Chamëri, Kosova, and in the Albanian regions in Macedonia (see fig 3). The aim of the school was not only to provide pupils with knowledge and teaching skills but also to prepare citizens devoted to their country. The headmaster of the school, Luigj Gurakuqi*, in his speech in the opening ceremony of the school, stated that:

“this school for teachers would lay the foundations of teaching and would prepare ardent and devoted apostles, which will carry education to the most remote abandoned areas.

(Vepra te zgjedhuna, T 1961, p. 358).

The majority of pupils came from the poor strata of the society, from urban and rural areas and from the three religions. For this reason the school was called “the school for the poor people” (*shkolla e vegjëlisë*). In the first year the school numbered 140 pupils out of which 70 came from Pristina (Trëndafil 1999, p. 17); they were financially supported by clubs and associations.

People educated in European universities were hired to teach in the school. Gurakuqi for instance had studied in San Adrian College in Italy. In his speech in the opening ceremony he pointed to the wide knowledge that one should acquire in order to teach in schools and stated that:

“...to find someone who is really trying to deliver education, we need to go back to 1378, the time when Vittorino da Feltre was born who started to look after the education of the entire nation, to be followed by Erasmus of Rotterdam and Luther from Germany, Rabelais from France, Claudio d’Acquaviva from Italy, Comenius from Moravia, Locke from Vrigton, Basedow from Hamburg, the great philosopher Kant, Pestalozzi, Girard from Freiburg who advocated that teaching should be conducted in the mother tongue, Frederich Froebel and many others, and currently Aleksander Bain, Andrea Anguilli and Herbert Spencer, one of the most outstanding philosophers who died in 1903”

(Normalisti 1959, p. 16)

The Commission, which was charged by the Congress to attend to the Normal School of Elbasan, decided that the school was to have six years, of which three were *premtare* (preparatory classes). Pupils were grouped according to the level of education they had received in other schools. The other three classes were *normal* classes. In the first year three preparatory classes and one normal class were opened. Pupils who had finished other foreign schools in whatever language had to attend the first class, while those who had finished upper levels could attend other levels accordingly. For pupils who had not received education in Albanian, a language course was offered.

A few years later, the Normal School of Elbasan comprised courses which produced teachers for pre-school education, junior elementary education, senior elementary education and secondary education. The school also had a dormitory, for which pupils had to pay 10 Turkish *lira**per month, to cover full board and lodging. Pupils who finished the normal school successfully were provided with a diploma, which allowed them to teach in the first and second grades in the elementary schools (Normalisti 1934, No. 4-5).

The school management comprised a headmaster and a *pleqësi** (board of governors), made up of eight local people. This democratic way of managing the school was required by the Education Congress of Elbasan. The school established some norms concerning the administrative aspects as for

instance the number of pupils in a class, the teachers' salaries, the duties and responsibilities of pupils and the school budget.

Teaching plans and curricula were put in place, which were approved by the Elbasan Congress. They were modelled on the foreign normal schools and included Mathematics, *Numratore* (Arithmetic), Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry, Astronomy, Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry, History of nature, Anatomy, Physiology, Zoology, Botany, Geology, Mineralogy, Albanian language, *Shkronjëtorë* (calligraphy), Syntax, Literature, Rhetorics, Poetry, Philosophy, Psychology, Logic, Pedagogy, Religion (Islam and Christianity), Geography, General history, History of Albania and of Turkey, *Desen* (Drawing), Music and Gymnastics (Veseli 2000. p. 97).

Five languages were taught in the school: Albanian, Turkish, French, Greek and English. The first three were compulsory while the last two were optional. Later the school became secular and religion was no longer part of the curriculum (Kamami, 1979). Luigi Gurakuqi, who was the headmaster of the school, taught *professional subjects*. In addition to the management of the school, he also taught *psychology, logic, pedagogy* and the Albanian language (grammar, syntax and calligraphy). He was also involved in the training of teachers. His hope was that “teachers, both young and old, would make the biggest contribution to Albania. He had a high appreciation of the teaching profession “because there is no other skill that is more useful and honoured than teaching”(Gazeta Rilindja e Shqipërisë, 1913, No. 8).

At the outset, textbooks, written by the iluminists and published in Sofia and Bucharest, were used. However they were limited and made life difficult for both teachers and pupils. In order to provide pupils with books, teachers used primitive ways to prepare copies for their pupils. Using a typewriter they printed their lessons on paper to create an embossed relief, which was then placed face down on a wooden board that had been coated with a gel. Once the gel had solidified the paper was removed enabling the image on the board to be used to print copies of the original document (Xhuvani in

Normalisti, 1959). The teaching aids were of a much better quality compared to the ones in the schools of other vilayets of the Ottoman Empire. They were imported from other countries. The Normal School of Elbasan was the first one to use good teaching materials. Until that time such teaching materials were not available in the state gymnasiums (secondary schools) of the four vilayets of Albania. New teaching methods such as exposition, demonstration and experimentation were introduced in the Normal school of Elbasan. Importance was given to student involvement in the learning process. These new developments had a significant impact on the way teachers designed their lessons as opposed to the scholastic medieval type of Turkish schools (Trëndafil, 1999). Following the opening of the Normal School in Elbasan, Albania finally had a clearly defined education system comprising elementary education and secondary education.

With the political situation in the country deteriorating again in 1910, the Young Turks were set on maintaining the empire and not interested in making concessions to the myriad nationalist groups within its borders. In addition, the Young Turks among other measures denied the existence of an Albanian nationality. The new government also appealed for Islamic solidarity to break the Albanians' unity. The new authorities levied taxes, outlawed guerilla groups and nationalist societies and attempted to extend the Ottoman control over the northern Albanian mountainmen. But the Albanians refused to submit to the Young Turk's campaign to "Ottomanize" them by force. New Albanian uprisings began in Kosova and the northern mountaneous areas in 1910. The Ottoman government quashed these rebellions after three months, outlawed Albanian organizations, disarmed entire regions and closed down schools and publications. It used the Muslim clergy to try to impose the Arabic alphabet. The Turkish government feared the Albanian schools. Most of the Albanian schools were closed including the Normal school of Elbasan; it was closed in 1910. This development, which ran against the decision of the 1909 Education Congress aroused anger among the Albanian population and was heavily criticized in the press. Fan. S Noli* suggested to open it either in Malta or in Switzerland and later was of the opinion that Switzerland would be the best place as an expression of the objection towards the policy of the Ottoman government.

The progress of Albanian education threatened the government of the Young Turks. By the end of the year 1909 the Ottoman government launched a fierce attack against the Latin alphabet and tried to force the use of the Arab alphabet. In the beginning of 1910, the Ottoman government organized demonstrations in the cities of Scopie, Monastir, Korche, Elbasan and others to support the Arab alphabet. By this time the struggle against the Arab alphabet became stronger and the tension between the Young Turks and the Albanian population increased, and on 2 April 1910 the Second Congress convened in Monastir. The Congress decided that an Association should be founded to take care of the publishing of textbooks and the reopening of the Normal School in Scopie.

In 1910, another Normal school was opened in Dibra. Pupils from Kosova and Macedonia, who had completed studies in Turkish schools, *rushdiye* and the *semi gymnasium*, could attend. It had three classes and was managed by a qualified teaching staff. Teachers were Albanians and were both full time and part time. The school building was a *xhami* (mosque) adapted and furnished with the necessary school furniture. The curriculum included: history, geography, pedagogy, didactics, drawing, calligraphy, gymnastics, music, Arabic and Persian. The Albanian language started to be taught when Salih Gjuka*, an Albanian patriot, came to teach in this school. The school closed down in 1912 (Abazi, 1997).

Following the normal school of Elbasan a Turkish (Dar-ul-mualimin) Normal school was opened in Shkodra. This three-year normal school was opened as a reaction to the Normal school of Elbasan "because once the Normal school of Elbasan was opened, the government started to open Turkish normal schools" (Gazeta "Shkrepëtima" Kajro, 7/20 Vjesht'e tretë 1910, No. 8, p. 3). Initially its director was Albanian. Later its director became Mustafa Beg Teufik, a Turkish man, who had studied history and geography in Paris. He equipped the school with western didactic materials. The teaching staff was composed of Albanian and foreign teachers. The latter were hired to teach oriental

languages. They had studied in western schools or in the schools of the Oriental countries (Kazazi, 1992, p.41).

The school had three classes. Pupils who graduated either continued their higher studies in the Higher Normal School of Istanbul or started to teach in elementary schools in Shkodër. The school had a modern curriculum (Kazazi, 1992) based on Turkish one. It included: religion, Turkish, Arabic, French, mathematics, geometry, *natyrë* (natural science), physics, geography, music, drawing and crafts. Attention was also given to methodology. Pedagogic practice was conducted in the Nemune-i Kebir mentor schools. The school also had a dormitory for pupils coming from remote districts under the jurisdiction of Shkodra. During the invasion of Shkodra in 1913 by the Montenegrin army the school was destroyed and was closed down.

The efforts of the Albanian patriots for the opening of Albanian schools for the preparation of teachers met with severe resistance as Albania was still occupied by the Turks. The other countries in the Balkans had already won their independence. With the efforts of the Albanian patriots in November 1912, Albania was proclaimed an independent country. A new phase started for Albanian education.

Conclusions

During the *Rilindja Kombetare Shqiptare* significant efforts were made to establish an Albanian education system. Albanian language education was an imperative for the unification of the Albanian people into a single nation and for the independence of the country. Thus the opening of Albanian schools became a major political issue.

At a time when the majority of the population in Albania was illiterate and there were few teachers, the requirements for the teaching profession were minimal. Teaching was done by people with limited literacy skills. Itinerant teachers played a significant role in Albanian language education.

The political developments in Albania and the extension of the network of Albanian schools raised the need for teachers with the necessary knowledge and skills. Teachers with no proper qualifications were thought to hinder the development of the country and the need for the preparation of teachers in specialized institutions emerged. However, the political and economic conditions in the country hindered the opening of normal schools in the country so they were opened outside Albania.

An important development during this period was the education of women. The opening of the Ladies' school which also functioned as teacher preparation school was the first step for the feminization of the teaching profession in Albania. Although this was a small-scale effort, it was a major achievement given the fact that Albanian society was extremely patriarchal at that time.

An independent Albanian State prompted the need to have an Albanian teacher preparation school. The opening of the Normal School of Elbasan was the first step for the preparation of teachers under a common curriculum. The Normal School of Elbasan laid the foundations of primary education in Albania and marked the divorce with the Turkish influence. However, its survival could only be possible in an independent Albania.

Chapter four

TOWARDS A WESTERN EUROPEAN MODEL OF TEACHER EDUCATION

(1912 – 1944)

Efforts to build a national education system and preparation of teachers through fast track pedagogic courses

With the proclamation of Albania as an independent state, in December 1912, the Vlora Provisional Government (VPG) was formed, headed by Ismail Qemali*. The Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers (England, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, and Italy) convened in London (1912-1913) to settle the outstanding issues raised by the conflict following the demise of the Ottoman Empire. In the first meeting Albania was acknowledged as an “autonomous” country but under the rule of the Sultan. According to the final resolution in July 1913 Albania was acknowledged to be independent of the Ottoman Empire. With the support from Austria-Hungary and Italy, the Conference of Ambassadors acknowledged Albania as an independent nation and drew the borders of the new state. Owing to strong pressure from Albania's neighbours, the Great Powers largely ignored demographic realities and gave core areas to the neighbouring countries (Historia e Shqipërisë 1994). The vast region of Kosova was given to Serbia, while in the south the greater part of Chamëria (part of the old region of Epirus centred on the Themis River (see Fig. 4) was given to Greece. In early December 1912, Kosova, Northern, Eastern and Central Albania up to Shkumbin river were invaded by the Serbian and Montenegrin armies, while the Greeks sought to control southern Albania. Under the circumstances in which the issue of Albania was still unsettled, the VPG was not acknowledged by the International community. As a result it operated in a restricted territory covering the cities of Vlorë, Fier, Lushnjë, Berat and Durrës. The organization of the Albanian State was left with the Great Powers and the task of establishing the administration of the Albanian State was left with an International Commission.

The VPG established its administration, revived the Albanian army, and established a judicial system after the European models. Albanian was proclaimed an official language and efforts began to revive education in the country. The first step was to set up the Ministry of Education, which was headed by Luigj Gurakuqi. At that time only 250 foreign run schools existed in Albania (Musaj, 2002, p. 94) whereas Albanian schools only amounted to 67 (Shaplllo 1963 a, p. 84). So the VPG started efforts to open Albanian schools. *Education Directorates* were established in the districts of Vlorë, Berat, Elbasan, Durrës, Tiranë and Pogradec with each district organizing education independently. For the first time education legislation (ligjiishmëri arsimore) was put in place and focused on establishing equality of the sexes in public education. The new education legislation stated the responsibilities of the Director of Education and competencies required of all elementary school teachers, who were to be tested. Teachers who met the requirements were issued a diploma and those with financial difficulties were given support.

The VPG also addressed the education of women in order to get rid of the old mentality that confined mostly girls of the Moslem faith within the four walls of the home. The first public school for girls was opened during the school year 1913-1914 in the Lushnja prefecture with 30 girls, to be followed by the reopening of the Ladies' School and the public Girls' School in Shkodra. Schools were opened in other cities of Albania but their number was limited due to lack of women teachers (Musaj, 2002).

One of the needs of the nascent country was the abolition of the old-fashioned education system by creating equal opportunities for all people of all classes and by introducing "the ideal of a democratic nation" (Luarasi 1962, p. 26-27). Independent Albania required a well-organized education system of its own. The first such efforts were made by Parasqevi Qiriazi (Kyrias) with the *Projekti Arsimor* (Education Project) known by the name *The Theses of Laura* (see Fig. 5). This was her doctoral thesis, which she defended in 1913 in the Oberlin College in Ohio, the title being "The development of schools in the Ottoman Empire and an ideal system of education for Albania". In her view, the aim,

content and duration of education provided in the Turkish *mëhallë**, *ruzhdiqe* schools as well as the schools of the *xhami** no longer suited the needs of the new Albanian circumstances (Osmani, 1997, p. 47). She suggested the establishment of an education system and a central education commission headed by the Minister of education, under the umbrella of the Parliament. She was an advocate of single sex education, given the patriarchal mentality of the Albanian society.

The *Projekti Arsimor* projected pre-school education, which started at the age of four, with a two-year duration including kindergarten. Elementary education started at the age of six until 12. It was divided into two 3-year phases: the junior level and the upper level. In the first three years special importance was given to reading, writing and numeracy as well as knowledge of the environment. In the other three years, story telling, language, science, gardening, art, physical education and crafts were taught. She recommended teaching methods that were varied and matched to the psychophysical age group. The project also provided for the education of the mentally and physically handicapped.

Parasqevi considered elementary education as the foundation for the future development of the individual and attributed its success to being reliant on the teaching skills of the teachers. She appreciated highly the teaching profession and considered the teaching profession as a privilege and special honour. For her the teacher was “the primary person responsible for the education of pupils and their role was crucial in cultivating the pupil’s personality” (Osmani 1997, p. 34). Thus elementary school teachers should have a good command of pedagogy and psychology and should know the stages of child development. She favoured women elementary school teachers on the grounds that “women can understand children better than men” (Osmani 1997, p. 56). Therefore special attention was given to the preparation of elementary school teachers in the education project. With regard to junior secondary school teachers she was of the opinion that they should be prepared in specialized institutions such as the *higher normal schools*. Parasqevi argued that pupils who attended the *normal schools* should have at least secondary school education.

In the second level particular attention was given to the links between learning and practical work. Secondary education began at the age of 13 and was divided into two stages, junior level and senior level, each of four-year duration. Higher education would be based on the three-year secondary schools and higher education institutions were to be established in the capital city.

In developing her *Projekti Arsimor* Parasqevi avoided borrowing from the education models of the neighbouring countries and in particular the Turkish one. She was inclined towards the western models and the German one in particular. She drew on the work of Montessori, Brown, Stochton, Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi and Comenius and advocated the necessity to rely on genetic and pedagogic psychology and the application of progressive teaching methods (Osmani 1997, p. 59). Although she opted for Western European standards, she was of the opinion that curriculum should not be a carbon copy of foreign curricula but adapted to meet the requirements and conditions of Albania (Abazi, 1997, p. 248).

Parasqevi's *Projekti Arsimor* failed to be implemented because of the turbulent political situation in Albania at that time, caused by the Balkan War and by World War I. The invading countries imposed their own education systems in the areas they dominated. However, despite the difficult situation the VPG managed to open new elementary schools in towns and villages, which needed teachers. To this end, the Ministry of Education decided to open a *normal school* in each prefecture (Historia e Shqipërisë, 1994). In the 1913-1914 academic year young people were invited to attend the *Shkolla Normale Përgatitore* (preparatory normal schools) which functioned in the form of *rende të shpejta* (fast track pedagogic courses). These courses were an accelerated form for the training of new teachers, and provided them with pedagogical and academic knowledge.

In autumn 1913 the Normal School of Elbasan was opened again in the form of a two- year pedagogic course. The course participants were required to be adults. The school had 100 pupils, out of which 70 received a scholarship from the government and about 40 of them were from Kosova and Great Dibra

(now part of Macedonia). The course continued throughout the academic year 1913-1914. The teaching staff of the Normal School of Elbasan consisted of one director, two teachers and several part time teachers (Gashi 1967, pp. 36-37). This same year the Normal school of Berat was opened at the initiative of Mr Salih Djuka*, who at that time headed the Directorate of Education in Berat (*Shkolla Normale e Beratit*. Në “Përlindj’ e Shqipëries” Vlorë 18/31 kallënduer 1914. No. 6, p .5). The structure of the normal school of Berat was based on the *qytetëse* (junior level of secondary school), with five classes and 80 pupils. Both the normal schools of Elbasan and Berat functioned as provisional normal schools for the training of elementary school teachers. Admission was done through entrance exams. Only pupils up to 30 years of age, who had at least finished a *qytetëse* were admitted.

The curriculum of the *Shkolla Normale Përgatitore* was prepared by the Ministry of Education (Shapllo 1963 b, p. 53). For the first time the subject areas of pedagogy, didactics and psychology were taught (Koburja, 1999, p. 14). To teach the professional subjects, foreign textbooks were used. They were translated, reproduced and distributed to pupils. Upon completion of the course participants were provided with a Certificate (Dëftesë-Rend Normal i Shpejtë për Mësues – Fast Track Pedagogic Course certificate).

The *rende të shpejta* were useful because teachers could be prepared in a shorter time and they provided a homogeneous training. However they did not always meet the professional requirements because of the short duration of the course which did not allow teachers to develop sufficiently sound knowledge and teaching skills. For this reason, the need for continuous in-service training re-emerged in the following years. *Rende të shpejta* continued until 1921 with a double aim: to prepare new teachers for the new schools and to re-train current teachers.

Regardless of the attempts to stabilize the political situation in Albania, the situation continued to be unstable. In order to bring stability to the country the Great Powers appointed a German prince, Wilhelm zu Wied, as ruler of Albania. The Prince arrived in Albania in March 1914, but his

unfamiliarity with Albania and its problems, compounded by complications arising from the outbreak of World War I, led to his departure from Albania six months later. On 2 October 1914 the Durrës Provisional Government was formed with Dr. Turtulli as the Minister of Education. An education council was formed which consisted of outstanding Albanian educators. In 1915 a curriculum document was developed for the first time called “Programa analitike të shkollës fillore dhe të mesme” (Analytical curriculum for elementary and secondary schools) which defined subjects to be taught including French as the foreign language and religious studies. (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990, p. 255).

The war plunged the country into a new crisis, the armies of Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia invaded and occupied Albania. Albanian schools were closed and many Albanian teachers were either arrested or dismissed. The invading countries opened their own schools. Consequently setting up a unified education system became difficult. The Greek, Turkish, Slavic, Italian, Austro-Hungarian schools which existed in Albania were administered and funded by the clergy and were politically dependent on the respective countries. For the most part instruction took place in the language of the occupying countries, which also imposed their curriculae. In general, teaching in these schools mirrored the educational philosophy of these countries so there was no national education by way of which Albanian national identity could be enhanced. Religion was also part of curriculum (Historia e Arsimit shqiptar, 1990). For the most part during the 1914-1915 academic year Albanian schools were almost non existent (Kanini, 2000). Under this situation, informal teaching by way of itinerant teachers was again restored to educate the people.

The Austrian-Hungarian influence

In 1916 Albania was invaded by the Austro-Hungarian troops. The Serbian and Montenegrin troops left the country. Two thirds of Albania, as far as the Vjosa river, in the south, was invaded by the Austro-Hungarians, while Vlora and later Djirokastra, with the other districts around them, were invaded by the Italians and Korcha by the French. During the Austria-Hungarian invasion significant

education developments happened in Albania. The Austrian-Hungarian government exercised an educational policy known as *Aksioni shkollor**(School Action), which implied development of education in Albania by extending the network of schools and Albanian language education.

The *Aksioni Shkollor* was applied in the context of the Cultus Protectorate*, which the Austrian Hungarian Empire enjoyed since the 18th century. To apply this policy, the Austrian-Hungarian Government relied on the Catholic Church to take care of the catholic population which constituted 15% of the Albanian population, located in the north of the country. It took actions to prepare the clergy, subsidize Catholic Orders and institutions and opened a number of non-secular schools. Also Albanians were given the right to self administration, develop their national culture and use their language. For more than two years the schools, which were opened in the framework of Cultus Protectorate, applied the Austrian-Hungarian curriculum. The German language was introduced as a second foreign language in all schools (Kanini, 2001).

The opening of a number of schools required teachers. Therefore a number of teachers were trained in the *rende të shpejta*. During this time, in the Normal School of Elbasan two training courses with pupils from all over Albania were conducted. Seventy pupils participated in the first two-month training course (July-August 1916) out of which 30 came from Kosova. Upon completion of the first course in Berat, Salih Djuka* submitted to the Prefect of Berat his training plan for teachers who would be working in the *qytetënore** (elementary school) and in the *Normal School*. The *rende të shpejta* were conducted in several other regions of Albania. During the Austro-Hungarian occupation they extended as far as Kosova, Prizren, Pejë and Vuchitern. Later, in 1918 the Normal School of Elbasan was united with the *qytetëse* (Gashi 1967, pp. 36-37).

In the Italian occupied areas the schools were of a low quality. Teachers were Italian soldiers who, in addition to other subjects, also taught Italian. There was no common curriculum in these schools, hence a chaotic situation prevailed because each individual teacher applied his own teaching methods. In the

mainly French dominated area, Korcha, in 1917, the French opened a *Lyceum*, which was the first Comprehensive Secondary School (gjimnaz) in Albania. All subjects were delivered in French and the French curriculum was applied.

As a response to unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in Albania's schools, efforts were made to revive the national culture and education. With the help of the Austrian-Hungarian government, in August 1916, the General Directorate of Education (GDE) was set up in Shkodër headed by Luigj Gurakuqi. It functioned as the supreme education authority and had three Directorates under its umbrella, the Directorate of Education (DE) of Shkodër, Berat, and Tirana. It defined the aim of the Albanian schools, which was "to provide pupils not only with knowledge, but also to impart on them humanistic feelings, integrity and responsibility, love of their motherland, strong character, all those qualities necessary for a nation to exist"(Kanini 2001, p. 115). Elementary education was made compulsory for children from 7-12 years of age. Schools and dormitories were put under the direct supervision of the GDE of the *Bërzik* (region). Teaching was done in Albanian. Also Albanian schools were opened in Ulcinj, Plavë (now part of Montenegro), Djakova (in Kosova) and in other areas.

As the training and retraining of teachers was top priority for the GDE, Luigj Gurakuqi took quick measures. With the decision No. 685/III dated 23.3. 1917 two Normal schools were opened: one in Shkodër and the Normal School in Elbasan was reopened, their directors being Gaspër Beltoja* and Aleksander Xhuvani* respectively. They focused mainly on the rapid preparation of teachers through the *rende të shpejta*. These were also started in Shkodër, Tiranë and Pejë (Kosova) to train temporary teachers.

In addition to training teachers in the *Normal Schools* of the country, the GDE also supported the training of teachers in other countries mainly in Austria, Italy, France and Germany. The government provided highly qualified pupils with a full scholarship and some with a partial stipend. Out of the sixty Albanian young people who studied in the schools of Austria in 1917, 39 attended *normal school*

and thirteen were female. The San Adrian College in Italy became an important centre for the education of Albanian boys (Kazazi, 1992).

The Normal School of Shkodër was opened under the direct auspice of Luigj Gurakuqi and of the *Komisia Letrare** in Shkodër. The aim of the school was „To train boys for the *People's Schools** (folkeschule) in Albania“ (Dizdari 1987, p. 21). It received financial support from the Shkodra people. The state provided 36.000 *korona** (crowns) every month to pupils with high results and who experienced economic difficulties. Only pupils with high achievements benefited from this scholarship. The management of the school was required to report on the pupils' progress to the government. Pupils who attended this school were required to sign a document stating that upon completion they would serve education for five years with no pay. During 1917 the school functioned as a *rend i shpejtë*. Forty teachers were trained in this course (Dizdari, 1987 p. 27). On 15 September of the same year, the *klasa gatimore** (preparatory course) in the Normal school of Shkodër was opened. It accepted pupils who had completed either the five-year elementary school, or a three-year school or any other similar school of this level.

The academic year in the Normal School of Shkodra lasted six months. The teacher training programme was designed by Gaspër Beltoja. Pupils learned logic, methodology, personality psychology, age psychology, psychology with elements of sociology, applied educational psychology, general pedagogy, didactics, history of pedagogy and laws on elementary education and methodology of pedagogic practice. The *rendi përgatitor* of the normal schools provided pupils with comprehensive education (Prendushi, 1978, p. 137). Pupils were supposed to learn French and Italian or German and Italian and Albanian language and „moral education“ were extremely important. Pedagogic preparation and Albanian language were a priority for the school. If a pupil received a „negative mark“ in the subject areas of pedagogy, teaching practice, Albanian language and mathematics, he was not entitled to sit for an oral examination.

Pupils were evaluated by the teaching staff of the school every three months. If they failed to demonstrate acceptable skills while they were attending the preparatory course, they were dismissed (Kazazi 1992). At the end of the pedagogic course, participants were awarded a certificate that qualified them to teach in the elementary schools of the country. These newly qualified graduates worked a two-year probation period and during which they were supervised to make sure that they had mastered the teaching skills. Afterwards, they sat an exam in pedagogy, pedagogic practice and the Albanian language. Retraining of teachers was organized annually via the „General Teachers’ Conference.

The Normal School of Shkodër was short lived. The Serbian orthodox clergy put pressure on the Directorate of Education, which subsequently ordered its closure for the 1919-1920 academic year. Two other *qytetëse*, one for the Moslems (muhamedanë) and one for the Christians, were opened (AQSH. MA 1920, p. 257), while the Orthodox clergy started their own school in Shkodër. The Moslem clerics started a *madrase** with the support of the Moslem community; some of the schools received support from the state administration. Therefore, the Ministry of Education in September 1922 opened the State Gymnasium of Shkodra (Gjimnazi Shtetëror i Shkodrës), which had a *provisional normal branch* (Repishti & Luli, 1972, p. 25).

Because of the growing interest in and support in 1919 a Catholic School was opened in Shkodër, the *Normal Branch of the Saverian College*, headed by a Catholic priest, Padre Ambros Marlaskaj. In fact it was founded in 1888 at the initiative of the tradesmen of Shkodra and managed to survive for a number of years due to the support of the Austrian-hungarians. Later, when the Austrians left and the Italians came, it continued to operate with the Italian funding. The curriculum of the *Normal Branch of the Saverian College* included a number of subjects but Albanian language and mathematics were of high priority. The course on pedagogy started in grade two all the way to graduation in grade four, which was the year when pupils graduated from the school. Upon graduation, the young teachers taught in the schools of Shkodër, Durrës, Pejë, Djakovë and Prizren.

Two years later, in 1921, the Normal Branch for the girl's school *Stigmantine Sisters* was opened again in Shkodër. The *Stigmantine Sisters* had opened several schools for girls, some of them were religious and some of them public schools. This one was a religious school and was established on the foundations of a former school, which had been opened in 1879. It received financial support from two sources: the Inspectorate of Education and the GDE. In 1922, the *Provincial* of the Franciscans in Shkodër (Provinciali i Franceskanëve të Shkodrës), Pal Dodaj, in a letter sent to the Ministry of Education, requested that the school become a boarding school for girls so that education of women could be encouraged.

The Normal School of *Stigmantine Sisters* was a comprehensive (e plotë) secondary school, of four-year duration, starting after the *gatimore* class. The structure of the school comprised: the junior elementary level - senior elementary level and the normal level. The school curricula was approved by the GDE. In addition to general subjects, pupils studied pedagogy, methodology, practical exercises (pedagogic practice). French or Italian were the two foreign languages taught. Professional subjects were taught by outstanding Albanian Catholic scholars from high ranking clergy. Pedagogy was taught in the second, third and fourth year; a total of eight hours. In the second year pupils studied general psychology; in the third they studied didactics and *edukatë** (mësim i edukatës i.e. values) and in the fourth year the history of pedagogy. Pupils were introduced to Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Quintilianni, Rabule, Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Herbart as well as French, Russian, Italian and American scholars of the 20th century. The Boys' Normal School and the Girls' Normal School curricula were almost the same except that in the boys' curriculum the subject areas of hygiene and home economics were replaced by agriculture. (Programa e mësimëvet të shkollës normale mashkullore dhe femnore, 1925, Shtypshkronja „Mbrothësia“, Kristo Luarasi, Tiranë). Passive pedagogic practice took place in a *mentor school*, one hour a week in the first semester and two hours per week in the second semester. While the four-year pupils had their pedagogic practice throughout

the school year in all the classes of the mentor school. In 1932 the school became part of the normal branch of the State Gymnasium of Shkodra (Kazazi, 1992).

Pupils studying in the normal schools were exposed to different scholars and their theories, however the prevailing pedagogy in the schools of that time was the herbartian pedagogy. The influence of Herbart was evident in the rigid structure of the lesson, which was markedly characterized by the authority of the teacher. Herbart's five formal steps *preparation* (gatim) - *aim* (qëllim) - *presentation* (të paraqitun) - *summary* (të përmbledhun) - *exercises* (drills) became very popular particularly during 1919-1920 with the I-IV grade curriculum designed by Gaspër Beltoja. In 1920 he adapted the book "Pedagogjia teoritike" from German for primary school teachers and normal school students. In fact Herbartianism had already been introduced in the *School for Franciscans* in Shkodër where an adapted version of the Austrian-Hungarian curriculum was applied (Koci, A. Popullor, 1965, No. 4, p. 92). According to Koburja (1999 interview), the introduction of Herbartian pedagogy was a spontaneous development. The influence of the Austrian education system and curriculum would inevitably influence on Albanian education and introduce Herbartian pedagogy in Albania's schools; at that time Herbart had become quite popular in Europe.

The Herbartian pedagogy was introduced in Albanian schools under conditions in which education in Albania was still chaotic. At that time, the central government's control of the curriculum left much to be desired as the numerous private and foreign schools were operating their own methods and pedagogy. Under these conditions the herbartian pedagogy was a utilitarian solution to control education and put it on track. It disciplined and standardized the teaching process and made the school controllable. On the other hand, it eliminated the democratic character of education that had been encouraged during the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare*. Teaching became standardized but authoritarian.

Strengthening the foundations of the Albanian education system

Following World War I Albania remained occupied. In October 1918 the Italian troops went as far as Shkodër, the French were in Korcha and Pogradec and the northeast was occupied by the Serbs. The country's integrity was again at risk. In December 1918 a Congress convened in Durrës and the formation of an Albanian government followed immediately after though its power was limited. Sali Djuka functioned as the Director of Education (i.e. Minister of Education) as Prof. Luigj Gurakuqi went to Paris, at the head of a delegation, to represent Albania at the Peace Conference*.

At that time Albanian education was experiencing several difficulties. First the invading countries opened their schools and introduced their models. In Djirokastra the curriculum was developed from the Italian model; in Korcha from the French model and in the north from the Austrian model. To this end the Durrës Provisional Government set up a commission, which would determine the structure of the education system throughout Albania and the education budget. An agreement was reached with the Italian government, which stated that all schools would be of a national character and that instruction would be conducted in Albanian.

In 1919 the Peace Conference convened in London and the countries who had lost in World War I would agree on conditions of peace. The option of dividing Albania among its neighbouring states was brought up. Albania's territorial integrity was at risk and as a consequence, a Congress convened in Lushnja, during 28-31 January 1920, Representatives from all regions of Albania took part. In March 1920, President Woodrow Wilson intervened to block the Paris agreement according to which Albania would be split among the neighbouring states. The United States underscored its support for Albania's independence by recognizing an official Albanian representative to Washington, and in December the League of Nations recognized Albania's sovereignty by admitting it as a full member. However, the country's borders remained unsettled. A Government was formed which moved to Tirana, proclaimed Albania's capital in the Lushnja Congress.

One of the directives of the National Lushnja Congress was to convene an Education Congress to discuss the unification of education in August 1920. Among the main issues on the agenda were: a unified education system and its structure, Albanian language education in schools, content of curricula and textbooks, preparation of teachers and their categorization, establishment of norms and regulations for the operation of schools and eradication of illiteracy. Women's education was not on the agenda.

The Lushnja Congress determined the structure of a unified Albanian education and of elementary education in particular and educational legislation was drafted. The National Council, which was founded in the Congress, passed laws placing private schools under the control of the state and making elementary education compulsory for both boys and girls. Elementary education became of five-year duration in the *qytetëse*, three-year in the village schools and free of charge.

Under the directorship of Sotir Peci, who was appointed Minister of Education, efforts to lay the foundations for a national education system began. 540 schools were opened (Jacques 1995, p. 373) and elementary education was proclaimed compulsory throughout the country for the first time. From the age of seven every child had to attend school. Crèches were opened for children 3-7 of age. Also night courses were started by involving teachers and well-known educators. A number of *internate* (dormitories) were opened in many of major towns such as Korcha, Djirokastër, Berat, Elbasan, Tiranë and Shkodër so that pupils from remote mountainous areas could be educated.

The new schools put forth the need for more teachers. The Congress decided to open *rende të shpejta* for the training and retraining of elementary school teachers, which placed special emphasis on methodology and pedagogical practice. In the *rende te shpejta*, which were opened during the period August-October 1920, 280 teachers were trained (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990, p. 315). Another proposal was the opening of two normal schools, one for boys and one for girls, but never materialized.

The Congress did not manage to nationalize private or religious schools due to the pressure of the clergy. However, one positive step was that all private schools were required to apply the state-mandated curriculum and would operate like state schools. The Austrian curriculum was to be used

universally in schools (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990, p. 314), as a stopgap measure until an Albanian curriculum would be promulgated. The reasons for this decision were several. First, the Austrian influence was strong, as they had occupied more Albanian territory compared to other invaders; the Austrians had given significant support to Albanian education by opening large number of schools and enhancing Albanian language education. On the other hand, the influence of Catholic Clergy was very strong.

The Lushnja Congress also decided that French be used as a foreign language, starting in the third grade (Shapllo, 1963a). Also the textbooks to be used in the Albanian schools would be designed directly under the auspices of the *Komisia Letrare*. It was also decided that a Pedagogic Review be issued in order to provide teachers with the necessary pedagogic knowledge and to help teachers in their professional development by keeping them informed of the new educational development. The first pedagogic review that appeared was called *Arsimtari* (The Teacher) (Osmani, 1983).

The issue of providing education through *itinerant teachers* was also raised in the Congress. It was decided that “each district should have a sufficient number of itinerant teachers who would teach the children in villages where there were no schools (Shkolla e Re” Shkodër. 1921 No. 1. p. 25). Although some steps had been taken for the preparation of teachers, more needed to be done. In a presentation given by the Minister of Education Rexhep Mitrovica in the Parliament of Albania in 1921, on the level of teacher qualification, the situation was described as follows:

1.	Teachers who had attended old schools of all kinds of languages other than Albanian	392
2.	Teachers who had graduated in a <i>qytetëse</i> (two-three years above the elementary)	12
3.	Teachers who had graduated in a Turkish or Greek semi-gymnasium	95
4.	Teachers who had graduated from a gymnasium in the Balkan states	69
5.	The rest who do not even deserve to be called “teachers”	-

(Revista “Shkolla e re” Viti I, 1921, Nr 12. p: 286)

During the 1921-1922 school year Albania had 9 *qytetëse* schools, 20 elementary schools (fifth grade schools), 21 elementary schools with two or three classes), 410 elementary schools with one class, where 764 teachers taught. This figure does not include teachers in the Lyceum of Korcha, in the Normal School of Elbasan, in the 34 schools for the Greek minority in Djirokastër and the 200 religious teachers. Altogether Albania had 800 teachers, a ratio of one teacher for every 1000 persons. The number of pupils was 25,197 out of which only 20 were female (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990).

The government drafted legislation on *the rights and responsibilities of the teacher*. For the first time teachers were divided into four categories based on their qualifications as described in the chart below:

Category I	Teachers who had a university diploma
Category II	Teachers who had completed normal schools in Europe
Category III	Teachers who had completed secondary school and a normal course
Category IV	Teachers who had completed normal schools in the Balkans

(Graceni 1967, p. 108).

In the review *Hylli i Drites**, 1924 Gjergj Fishta* asked for schools to be able to prepare capable specialists in order to manage the country and help it progress. Special importance was given to the moral stature of the teacher and his professionalism. He strongly emphasized the need to know the teachers’ professional competence because “they are entrusted with the task of the education of the younger generation”. Fishta also asked the educational authorities to make sure they were aware of the values of teachers and whether they were qualified enough to exercise “the sacred *craft*”. He also paid attention to the issue of scholarships and advised that they should be allocated according to the needs of the country, giving special priority to normal schools (Mësuesi, 7 November 2001, No 7).

As a consequence of the wide range of schools and the lack of a coherent structure the unification of the education system became the order of the day. This also meant that the clergy had to relinquish control over schools and led to big tensions between the progressive forces and the clergy. Because it was highly sensitive and very complicated, the issue of making the school secular was not addressed in the congress. So the issue of the *nationalisation* of schools and secularization of education remained unresolved. The struggle for a secular education had started as early as the *Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare* period. However it again became the main topic on the agenda of the 1922 *Education Congress* (July 22nd -August 3rd) held in Tirana, at the initiative of outstanding educators. Representatives of the private schools, which were supported by the clergy, were not invited to the Congress. As secularism was the top issue on the agenda of this Congress, it is known in history as the *Congress of Secularism* (Kongresi i Laicizmit). Teachers put pressure on the Congress concerning two issues: abolition of the teaching of religion in schools and the nationalization of education. Because the Austrian curricula were to a great extent based on religion, it was decided to draw on the French and Swiss curricula (Repishti, 1972). The moral education class was detached from religious classes. The curriculum stated that it was not compulsory for the teacher to teach the pupil about God, but “not to use the word God without respect or meaning (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar 1990, p. 324).

The Congress approved a structure of education, which consisted of three types of schools: elementary school – vocational school – secondary school (gymnasium). Elementary education was divided into three levels, two years each. Elementary schools in the villages consisted of four classes and in bigger villages of six classes. The upper classes were for mixed-age groups. The Congress also decided secondary schools to be of six-year duration based on the *plotore** school. It was also decided to open three-year vocational schools. Also schools for early childhood education (day care) for children 3-6 of age were put in place, based on two main principles: health and pedagogy. Education legislation permitted them to be either part of the elementary schools or separate from them as they were not schools where children “acquired knowledge” but “institutions which took care of the well being of children”. The aim was to avoid imparting large amount of knowledge in kindergartens (Historia e

Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990. p. 322). The role of teachers was seen as crucial for this age group because to put it in Hilë Mosi's (Minister of Education in the early 1920s) words "the future of a child is determined by a good teacher and nobody else can carry out his task properly" (Kraja, 1993, p. 176).

In the early 1920s, Albanian society was divided by two apparently irreconcilable forces. One led by Ahmed Bey Zog*, a chieftain from the Mat region of north-central Albania, the other, by Fan S. Noli, an American-educated bishop of the Orthodox Church. In 1922 Ahmet Bey Zog took over the premiership of the Albanian government. In the unusually open and free political, social, and cultural climate that prevailed in Albania between 1920 and 1924, the liberal forces gathered strength, and, by mid-1924, the popular revolt of June 1924 brought bishop Fan S. Noli* to power as Albania's prime minister forcing Zog to flee to Yugoslavia. Noli dreamed of making Albania into a Balkan Switzerland. He proposed agrarian radical reform, the eradication of primitive conditions in Albania, a sharp reduction of bureaucracy and the establishment of a progressive democracy. In foreign relations he recognized the Soviet Union, which aroused anxiety among the members of the government and among the neighbouring states. The Minister of Education in the Noli Cabinet, Stavro Vinjau, developed a programme for the reorganization of education. Article 19 of the programme stated "the organization of education on modern, national and practical basis in order for the schools to train good workers" (Historia e Arsimit Shqiptar, 1990, p. 339).

Although the issues of unifying education system and making it secular were raised in the 1922 Education Congress they still remained unresolved. To this end at the initiative of Prof. Xhuvani, the Education Congress convened in Tirana on 12 August 1924 with participants coming from all regions of Albania. There were fierce debates between the progressive forces and the representatives of the clergy. The Congress decided to bring education under the supervision of the state and provide universal education for all. Education was made compulsory and began at age 7 and pre-school institutions would open wherever it was possible. All schools would apply the state curriculum.

With regard to secondary school education the Congress decided to open a provisional normal school with a *short version curriculum* to train unqualified teachers as well as the opening of semi gymnasiums in Elbasan, Durrës and Berat which would be attended by boys who had finished the *plotore*. In order to make it possible for pupils from distant areas to attend normal schools the Congress decided that most of its scholarship funding would be directed for students attending the normal schools so that teachers could be prepared in a short time.

Education of women was one of the main issues on the agenda the Congress. By contrast no women took part in the proceedings of the Congress. Education of women was made compulsory with two main stipulations: girls at the age for education were to attend school. All females beyond school age should attend literacy courses. At the proposal of Prof. Xhuvani, the Congress also decided to propose to the Ministry of Education the opening of a Girls' Normal School in Tirana (Musaj, 2002) and to set up dormitories for both boys and girls.

Another important decision was the creation of the *Lidhja e Përgjithshme e Mësuesve të Shqipërisë* (General League of Teachers of Albania), in Tirana, in August 1924. This form of organization would provide teachers a framework to address their issues as the economic status of teachers was still problematic. Their salaries were far too low as compared to those of other civil servants (Kraja, 1993). The programme of the *Lidhja e Përgjithshme e Mësuesve të Shqipërisë* developed its own programme, which included the organization of education on democratic principles, its secular character, economic status of teachers and enhancement of the image of teachers.

With the creation of the *General League of Teachers* the position of teachers was strengthened, teachers could now raise their voice on educational matters. For example when the government wanted to transfer the Normal School of Elbasan to Shkodër, teachers reacted fiercely and in a letter sent to the Council of Ministers on August 18th 1924 they expressed that they were totally against this decision.

Although Noli's government had good intentions, it failed to keep to the education programme and became the subject of fierce criticism in the press. Its vacillation in carrying out the program, coupled with a depleted state treasury and a failure to obtain international recognition for his revolutionary, left-of-centre government, quickly alienated most of Noli's supporters. Six months after taking power he was overthrown by an armed assault led by Ahmet Zog, who came to power aided by Yugoslavia.

Preparation of women teachers in Albania - The Kyrias Educational Institute (*Instituti Arsimuer Kyrias*, IAK)

Participation of women in social life was an important factor for the development of the country. Their education was a major problem Albanian society had to solve and had been hot topic since the National Awakening period. There was a need felt for good "in order to have well educated mothers" (Osmani 1997, p. 71).

To provide quality education for women, young women were sent to attend normal schools in Austria, Italy and other countries. But their number was small because of the generally chauvinistic treatment of women. Women's position in Albanian society was very weak. They were suppressed and kept mostly in doors doing housework. Because education of women in foreign schools was quite expensive, the number of women receiving education was limited. The Minister of Education Sotir Peci*, called on the Kyrias Sisters who at that time lived in USA, to start a school for girls. He assumed prior knowledge of their educational activity as well as that of Kristo Dako* (Sevasti's husband) and hoped that they would set up a high quality school. The two sisters were well known for being knowledgeable educators and this was hoped to make the school more attractive to girls.

The Kyrias sisters accepted the offer and started preparations for the school. The aim of the school was to educate girls from all parts of the country and from the three religions and all strata of Albanian society in order to help the country recover. The State authorities approved of the opening of this school and on 2 October 1922 the Kyrias sisters opened the *Instituti Arsimor "Kyrias" për vajza* (the Kyrias Education Institute for girls), in Kamëz, in the vicinity of Tirana. Many people of the Moslem,

Catholic and Eastern Orthodox faith enrolled (Luarasi, 1962). Instruction was delivered both in Albanian and English. The first day the Institute had 27 girls out of which 20 got a scholarship from the government. The IAK also had a dormitory. Initially the school received 5,000 dollars from the famous *filo Albanian**, Charles Crain, while the rest of the funding came from the pupils' fees. Pupils, who were at least 12 years of age, healthy, with good manners and with a four-year elementary school education, were admitted.

As more girls attended, the Ministry of Education decided to start a normal branch in the Institute and passed a law which stated that the *IAK* would have a *përgatitore* class and a normal branch. During the school year 1923-1924, fifty young women attended the school. The Head Office promised to cover the expenses of 15 pupils but failed because of the difficulties in fundraising. Later the government intermittent funds caused Sevasti to publicly raise her concern in the press thereby putting pressure on the authorities not to cut off the funding for the only women's school. As a result the school continued to operate.

In 1924 the Albanian Parliament in the context of reorganizing teacher preparation schools, passed legislation on the "*Shkollat Normale Femërore* (Feminine Normal Schools)" whereby the Normal schools in Albania would follow on the curricula and regulations of the Swiss schools (Osmani, 1998). The school consisted of eight classes divided into two courses. The first course was equivalent to the first four years of lyceums in Europe while the following four years were divided into five disciplines. In the beginning, the *IAK* had three departments: *complementary*, *preparatory* and *specializing* departments. The later was divided into three branches: *pedagogical* or *normal* branch, *science* and *home economics* (dega shkencore shtëpiake) and the *literiale** branch (dega literiare, liceum) (Osmani, 1998).

Later the structure of *IAK* changed. In 1930 the *IAK* had two main departments:

- the *gymnazial** (departamenti gjimnazial) and

- the *superior* (departamenti superior).

The course of study in the *gymnazial* department lasted 3-4 years and only pupils who had finished elementary school could attend. The superior department consisted of three specialized branches (degë specializuëse).

- a) The *Science and Home economics branch*, which lasted two years. It admitted pupils for a course of two years duration, who had finished the *gymnasial course** (kurs gjimnazial) and who were specialized in crafts and home administration.
- b) The *Pedagogical sciences branch* was of three-year duration and provided teachers with pedagogic knowledge and ethics. Pupils who had finished the *gymnazial* course could attend this branch.
- c) The *Liceale* branch (the branch of modern languages) had a course of four-years duration which admitted pupils who had finished the *gymnazial* course; it prepared pupils for university studies

(Instituti Arësimuer Kyrias Kolezh për vajza, Kamzë, Tiranë, 1930, pp. 3-4).

The school curriculum in the *IAK* was approved by the Ministry of Education. Albanian, English and French languages were taught (AQSH. F.MA 1922, d. 2, p. 287). While the Korcha and Djirokastra Lyceums worked with French curricula, the curriculum of the *IAK* was designed after the American and European models (Osmani, 1998). Foreign textbooks were used for the teaching of mathematics, science, reading, spelling and calligraphy, pedagogy and psychology. Hygiene, zoology, home economics, art (drawing) and the piano lessons were taught in French with French textbooks, which were either adapted or translated. Chemistry, physics, botany and physical education were taught in English with English textbooks (Dishnica 1998, p. 100).

All teaching the staff were women, as parents would have hesitated sending their daughters to school if men were teaching. Teachers were Albanian, American and Swiss. The teaching staff of the Normal

branch came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. and was hired through a testing procedure”(AQSH. F 30, 1922, d. 30, p. 29). Foreign teachers were hired because there was shortage of well-qualified Albanian teachers and because in some subjects there were no textbooks in Albanian. This helped to set a balance between foreign experience and Albanian tradition.

American schools and introduction of progressive education

The technical School “Harry Fultz” and its Normal branch (1921 - 1933)

Along with the IAK, another school was opened in Tirana in 1922, “The Harry Fultz Technical School”, with the support of the American Junior Red Cross, which had been active in Albania since World War I. The headquarters of the Red Cross was in Tirana with branches in several other districts. Up until 1920 four hospitals and three schools were financially supported by the American Junior Red Cross. In 1921 it decided to open the Technical School. Initially the headmaster of the school was Professor Mr. Ch. A. Hollingshead. Later, Mr. Harry T. Fultz became the school principal. Hence the name of the school.

The prevailing philosophy of the school was that the pupil should be a free citizen, should learn by himself and should do things in line with the rules and customs/traditions of his country. The work in the “Harry Fultz” Technical School was based on American pragmatism and functioned based on the Latin expression, “decendo discimus” (learning by doing). English was the first foreign language and was taught one hour every day. The same was true for the Albanian language. In addition, German and Italian were taught, in the fourth and the fifth year, five hours per week. The school had a practical orientation and its target was to produce capable specialists. The aim was to make it into a special institution, which would develop Albanian industry and culture. The moto of the school was “Service and Friendship”. The fee for one year was 25 Napoleons*, which also covered board and lodging. The teaching staff comprised both Albanian and American teachers, who were trained in schools in the USA, Malta, Turkey, Austria, Hungary and Italy (Laboremus, Trupi i arsimtarëve të shkollës, 1925, p.

10). The teacher was a role model and was required to treat all pupils equally. Mr. Hollingshead's view of a teacher was that he should be "a friend, a good leader, an adviser and a pupil himself".

Applicants for admission to the school were selected on the basis that pupils should be no younger than 14 years of age and no older than 16. Pupils were required to have completed the five-year Albanian school, and have a health certificate proving that the student was not physically handicapped. Also, they were required to have their exams in the Albanian language, geography and history of Albania and math.

When the school started there was no predetermined curriculum. The plan was to revise the curriculum in the course of time in order to fit it to the stage of development of pupils to meet the growing needs of the country's economy and to impart values. In 1926, at the initiative of the Minister of education, Rexhep Mitrovica, a normal branch for the preparation of teachers was opened in the school. The curriculum was developed by the Albanian educators Gaspër Beltoja and Karl Gurakuqi. The normal branch had a mentor school where the *normalist* pupils could have their pedagogic practice. It opened the year following the opening of the normal branch. The school had its own newsletter called "Laboremus". In May 1930, the *normal* (pedagogic) *club* was founded.

It was in the "Harry Fultz" Technical School that the *Scout* movement began in Albania. Its aim was to equip the members of the movement with certain values and qualities that would enable them to perform their duties towards the homeland, themselves and the society. Pupils were supposed to learn values through gymnastics (excursions, games in the open air), hunting (in order to develop the senses), living in nature, health and hygiene and so on.

Until 1931, the school was operated cooperatively by the Albanian Government and the founding organization; a bond between the Kingdom of Albania and the Republic of the United States of America. With the nationalization of schools in the 1933 Education Reform, the *Technical Normal*

School (the name because of two branches in one school) was closed and that was the time when the Albanian scout movement ended (Gogaj, 1995).

The Albanian-American Institute of Kavaja

In 1925 the *Instituti Shqiptaro-Amerikan i Kavajës* (The Albanian-American Institute of Kavaja) was opened with two branches, the agriculture branch for boys and the home economics branch for girls. In August 1925 the first five American teachers for the Girls' branch appeared in the Durrës seaport. The girls' school was separate from the boys' school. In the girls' branch were taught values such as the need to serve others and possess a strong character. It was a five-year normal school with a *përgatitore* class, its aim being to train teachers for village schools.

The girls' branch selected pupils from intellectual families on the assumption that this would help produce better teachers. The daughters of some of the ministers of the then government attended the school. However, the school headmistress had promised equal treatment and had stated that "the rich and the poor would be treated equally during her period of service in Albania" (Gogaj 1995, p. 201).

The school curricula comprised general and professional subjects. According to the principles of American education ¼ of the teaching load should be devoted to the subject areas of home economics and crafts. The curriculum did not include observations and pedagogic practice, as there was no mentor school affiliated to it. Pupils did only observations in the schools of Durrës and later on in the school of the Gazdare village, Kavajë district.

The philosophy in the American schools was primarily based on progressive education while the Herbartian theory, until 1920, was used only in a limited number of schools. It began to spread to other schools following the opening of the *Ushtrimore school* in 1923 at the Normal School of Elbasan where pupil teachers could watch real application of Herbartian methods. Herbart became popular also

through teachers who had graduated from the Normal School of Elbasan and in the schools of Austria. Although herbartian pedagogy was dominant in Albanian schools, teachers began to apply other progressive approaches" (Pahparisto 1924, in Gazeta "Ku vemi") and new progressive theories were being advocated in the *Ushtrimore school*. Herbart's philosophy that "the value of the individual relies on his strong will, rather than on his knowledge", was becoming outdated. There was a call for more pupil involvement in the learning process. By this time the Normal School of Elbasan began to be influenced by the French *Edukata e Re* (Education Nouvelle). John Dewey's progressive education (shkolla aktive) was gaining ground. *Laboremus* emphasized that "the pupil is no longer considered a container to be filled with water, but an individual, who has his own reasoning, who learns by doing, and who can manage to be happy for himself and for the society through his own activity " (Beltoja, *Laboremus*, August, 1931, Vol. VII, No. 18, p.10). Herbartian pedagogy began to lose its dominance.

The Albanian pedagogic press also played a significant role in making Albanian educators familiar with developments in western pedagogy and particularly, in the field of psychology. Special emphasis was placed on the active role of pupils in the learning process, the need to understand the psychology of the pupil and to demonstrate respect for the pupil in school and society (Korburja, 1999, p.102). However, in the 1925 publication of the *Revista Pedagogjike* (Pedagogic Review) we find model lessons based on four formal steps which the *neoherbartians* called them: *preparation* (pregatitja) – *the new lesson* (dhënia e mësimet) - *summary* (përmbledhje) - *application* (aplikimi).

Professor Aleksander Xhuvani initially highlighted the value of the *formal steps*, as helping the teacher to organize his teaching process, in his book published in 1926, „Fillime të pedagogjisë për shkollat normale e për mësuesit e fillores. Pjesa e dytë. Didaktikë e edukate. Për klasën e tretë të shkollës normale" (The beginnings of pedagogy for normal schools and for elementary school teachers. Second part: Didactics and education. For the third year students of Normal schools). Although he advocated Herbartian pedagogy, "he was not a pedantic Herbartian" (Rexhepagiq, 1986); Later, in the book

“Didactics” which he published later in 1937, Professor Xhuvani stepped back from the herbartian pedagogy and advised that:

“An experienced teacher does not need to follow Herbart’s “formal steps”, because he is able to use his own mental and pedagogic skills; the teacher, depending on context, may decide for himself which of the formal steps to use”

(Xhuvani, Didaktika 1937, p. 80)

In the 1930s, students who had finished schools in Lyon in France and in the Jean Jack Rousseau Institute in Switzerland, began to teach in Albania. Theories such as “the global method”, the method of normal words”, progressive education of Ferrier and the “Functional education” of Claparède began to be introduced. Similarly the *Montessori* philosophy was imported from Italy. The *Drejtimit Letrare (Literary trends) Review* in 1936 recommended young people to read the philosophy of Durkheim and Dewey’s pedagogy, “because without it Albanian school will not have a good future” (Kaloci, Gazeta Shqiptare, 19 April 2003, No. 2458). Prof. Xhuvani’s book on pedagogy, which was used by pupils in the Normal Schools, helped to disseminate new knowledge in a uniform way.

In 1930 Pahparisto published a book on Decroly’s school with the title “The school of life, for life and through life”. In 1932 Gaspër Beltoja translated from German the manual “Science and art in teaching” and Prof Xhuvani translated into Albanian Maria Montessori’s book “Discipline and freedom”. Also Decroly’s “centers of interests (les centres d’intéret)”, global method in reading and writing began to be very popular among educators. Foreign literature was also powerful in bringing in new ideas. To keep *normalists* and teachers informed of new educational developments, foreign languages were considered to be crucial. Therefore, in all secondary schools (senior level) in addition to Albanian language, every pupil was required to learn one or more of the modern languages: English, French, German and Italian (Tola & Dervishi, 1931, p. 41).

Talking about the beginnings of the herbartian pedagogy in Albania, Professor Osmani (1998) argues that the herbartian pedagogy was introduced for the first time in 1916 in the schools in the areas invaded by the Austrian Hungarian. He suggests three ways in which the herbartian pedagogy has been introduced in Albania a) through Albanian educators who studied in Austria, b) through the herbartian literature, which was translated and published in the pedagogic review *Shkolla e Re (The New School)* and the curriculum c) through the teachers who studied in the Normal School of Elbasan. Herbart's saying „Not in the skills but in the strong will lies the value of a person“ continued to appear on the cover of the *Normalisti* Review until the 1930s, which demonstrates his long term-influence. Although herbartian pedagogy was challenged, it still continued to be influential. In the *Normalisti* Review (which first appeared in 1929) Herbartian pedagogy is evident in model lessons structured according to Herbart's formal steps until the late 1930s. Diminishing Herbart took a long time for reformers to come to the conclusion that “the school should be a free institution for pupils where they could express their own thoughts freely without being suppressed” (Kraja, 2000 interview)

Creating an Albanian education system - the *Ivanaj* Education Reform

In December 1924 Ahmet Zog with the help of Yugoslavia and 500 loyal men from the Mat region entered Albania and took power. He began his 14-year reign of Albania, first as president of Albania (1925-1928), then as King Zog I (1928-39) in a country rife with political and social instability. Greatly in need of foreign aid and credit in order to stabilize the country, Zog signed a number of accords with Italy. He established a very strong and centralized administration and brought a large measure of stability to Albania. At that time the mountainous areas were governed by the norms and laws of the *Kanun** until legislation was put in place. In the early years of his reign civil and penal issues were dealt with using the Ottoman legislation, which was later replaced by a western one. He took several steps to Westernize Albanian social life. First, administration was organized along the lines of western models, which brought significant progress in the building of a western style state administration.

In the field of education, Zog's government paid attention to increasing the network of schools. Elementary education was consolidated. In 1925 Albania had 458 elementary schools, a total of 757 teachers out of which 649 were male teachers. By 1928 the number of schools increased to 527 and the number of teachers to 848 out of which 704 were male and 103 female. The number of pupils attending elementary school at that time was 25.581 (Shkolla e Re, 1945, Nr 1, Statistika e Ministrisë së Arsimit). Secondary education was not so developed; there were only the Catholic schools in Shkodër, the *Normal School of Elbasan*, the *Instituti Shqiptaro-Amerikan i Kavajës*, the *Trade school of Vlora*, the *Gymnasium of Shkodra* and the "*Hurry Fultz*" *Technical school* in Tirana, the Tirana Gymnasium and the Korcha Lyceum.

In 1925 the Education Law was drafted which described the duties and tasks of teachers. Strict hiring procedures, placement or transfer of teachers was officially controlled and categorization of teachers, their responsibilities and salary were defined. Elementary school teachers were also required to have a normal school diploma, a gymnasium (secondary school) or Lyceum diploma and should also have attended a pedagogic course and possess a semi-gymnasium certificate. After teaching for three years they had to sit for an exam and afterwards could work as full time teachers. To start with a *normalist* teacher (one who had finished the normal school) was paid 160 golden francs or 8 golden napoleons* a month. After completing the state exams he would get an additional 40 golden francs i.e. 200 golden francs or 10 golden napoleons (Projekt Ligje dhe rregullore, 1925). This was quite a good salary by the standards of the time.

King Zog strongly believed that "to change social life in the country there is need to increase the role of the Albanian woman" (Instituti Arësimuer Kyrias, Kolezh për vajza, p. 2). To this end he issued a law, which prohibited women from wearing a veil. He then took measures for their education by starting schools for girls. At that time the teaching profession was mainly a male profession. For instance, in 1931 the number of teachers amounted to 906 out of which 772 were men and 134 women.

In 1930, the number of Normal schools in Albania amounted to four: the Normal School of Elbasan, Djirokastër, Tirana and Korcha which had a double aim: to furnish teachers for elementary schools and to prepare pupils for higher pedagogical schools outside the country. The courses became uniform and ran for six years. General subjects were studied during the first three years whilst the last three were devoted to pedagogy, methods of teaching and teaching practice.

In the 1930s all teachers who had graduated at the normal schools went through a retraining course and examinations. This course was compulsory for all *normalists* who had taught in elementary schools for two years. The government also provided several students with scholarships to study in western schools mainly Switzerland and Austria.

Regardless of some progress in education, the Albanian population was largely illiterate and that was a big obstacle for the development of the country. Consequently, King Zog's administration took measures to eradicate illiteracy. As the number of teachers was insufficient, *itinerant teachers* were again seen as a way to provide a quick solution to the problem and a *commission of itinerant teachers*, made up of experienced teachers, was set up. Each of the teachers in this commission went to the village and delivered lessons to men, boys and girls and distributed books free of charge (Gazeta "Ora" 1931, No. 412).

In 1931 the economic situation in Albania worsened because of a drought and floods. The Albanian government sought help from Italy, who offered help on condition that Italian specialists came to Albania. Several Italian specialists came to work in Ministries to provide technical assistance. These events coincided with the consolidation of Fascism in Italy and the start of its increasingly imperialist, outward-looking phase. The Italian influence aroused concern on the part of the Minister of Education, Hil Mosi. He provided facts to prove that in several instances they had even replaced the portraits of the Albanian heroes with that of Victor Emanuel III (Fischer, 1984, p. 224). Also the number of catholic schools, which had been opened in the northern catholic populated areas, with the support of

Italy, were more than necessary. To reduce the number of pupils attending these schools the government issued a law according to which parents who enrolled their children in foreign schools in or out of the country were charged a large amount of money. At the same time pupils who graduated in secondary schools in Albania were given priority for employment, compared to the ones who had completed secondary schools in other Balkan states.

In December 1932 Minister Mosi died and Dr. Mirash Ivanaj, a graduate of the Royal University of Rome, was assigned to the post of the Minister of Education. He was a man of outstanding strong character and accepted the post on condition that he would refuse any interference in the affairs of the Ministry of Education. He had even prepared a ready made resignation letter that once this agreement was infringed he would resign, which later he did (Gogaj, 1995. p. 90). He was determined to fight against corruption that was corroding Albanian education concerning unmerited scholarships and abuse with the work. The Korcha Newspaper characterized him as:

“a staunch will, a German type of will; an unlimited zeal, an American type of zeal; a remarkably democratic attitude towards his inferiors, a French type of democracy; an impressive serenity admired by everybody, a British type of calmness; and lastly an enthusiastic optimist who never makes mistakes in management, an Italian type of enthusiasm”

(Gogaj 1995, pp. 88-89)

In April 1933 Dr. Ivanaj convinced King Zog that it was necessary to carry out education reform in Albania, as at that time there were a variety of foreign schools, financed by the clergy, operating in Albania. Each of them had their own curricula and used their own teaching methods. This had created a chaotic situation in the education system. So in order to put an end to this pedagogic chaos, in 1934, the government launched the “ Dekret-Ligja organike e arsimit” (Education Decree). The reform was named after the Minister of Education and was called the *Ivanaj Reform* (Reforma Ivanaj). The number of Albanian schools increased. A competitive system for getting scholarships was established. Elementary education became free of charge. New textbooks were developed with a strong national

bias and schools were provided with quality teaching materials. Minister Ivanaj advocated the Anglo-Saxon style education system (Gogaj, 2002, interview).

The reform included the closure of foreign schools in Albania, consolidation of the education system by nationalizing all schools and unifying the curriculum; all curricula were revised. The mission of National education (Edukata kombtare) was defined to be “the moral, patriotic*, physical and artistic education of the Albanian youth” (Dekret-Ligja organike e arsimit 1934, p. 41). The *Education Act* also defined the role of State control over schools and over the entire education system and defined the structure of the education system in Albania. It consisted of three levels: pre-school, elementary, secondary and vocational education as well as courses for adults and the schools with a complimentary programme for the Albanian diaspora.

The Ivanaj Reform document also paid special attention to teachers. The Ivanaj reform adhered to the personality, professionalism, and knowledge of the teacher. The preamble of the reform document started with the words: “Teachers are required to have a national feeling, competence, integrity and conscientiousness” (Osmani, 1998, p. 388). Teachers who had studied in the East were made redundant and were replaced with new teachers who had studied either in western countries or with the ones who were trained in the *rende te shpejta* (Gogaj interview, 2002). Teachers were required to have a national awareness, to be competent and have high integrity. Article 3 stated that the teaching personnel should be secular and financially supported by the Ministry of Education.

The document classified elementary school teachers into *provisional* teachers and *definite* (full time) teachers. The *provisional teachers* (Article 92) were those who had completed the normal school but had not passed the exams and had been assigned to teaching posts before this Law came into effect. *Definitive* teachers, (article 93) were the ones who had completed a normal school and who had had the *stazh* (stage) exam and those who had completed a normal school in the west. Normal school teachers with good results were selected for the *ushtrimore* schools (article 102). Rights and responsibilities of teachers were also included in the reform document (articles 119-130). The document also outlined the

ways in which pedagogic training of teachers would take place. It included reading of pedagogic reviews, participation in the conferences and giving model lessons (articles 150-151). Also the document specified issues with regard to the remuneration of teachers (article 247) and trips abroad to visit modern schools and institutions in order to bring in new pedagogic methods (articles 391-393).

For the first time teachers were categorized according to their teaching experience which also determined their salary as follows:

Elementary school teachers	
Category I	Teachers who had finished an elementary school and were initially paid 100 Golden francs
Category II	Teachers who had finished a <i>qytetëse</i> * and were initially paid 120 golden francs
Category III	Teachers, who had finished a semi-gymnasium or an incomplete normal school and were initially paid 150 golden francs (golden frangs.150); the ones who had finished a state normal school but had no <i>stazh</i> were initially paid 160 golden francs .
Category IV	Teachers who had finished a normal school but not <i>stazh</i> and the ones who had finished a lyceum and were initially paid 200 golden francs.
Category V	Teachers who had finished a foreign normal school and had had a skills test were initially paid 220 golden francs.

Secondary school teachers	
Category I	Teachers with a diploma from the “Pedagogic Academy” or the Branch of Pedagogy at the University. Salary: 250 golden francs.
Category II	Teachers who had graduated from the university but had no teaching license, who were required to have passed at least one third of the exams in the main subjects. Salary: 280 golden francs.
Category III	a) Teachers who had graduated from the University and had received a license in teaching were paid 300 golden francs (fr.ari.300); b) teachers who had graduated the university and had received a license; c) and the People with a Doctoral degree. Salary: 320 golden francs.

(Ligjet e arsimit, 1933)

The Ivanaj Reform came into effect on 1 October 1933. With the implementation of the reform, all the private and foreign schools were closed. Seventeen catholic schools with 2,560 pupils were closed; twelve of them in Shkodër. In the case of the four Italian technical schools in Tirana with 1,000 pupils

where headmasters were Albanian, the Italian Minister in Tirana advised the Italian teaching staff to quit as a sign of protest (Fischer, 1984). The Italian government was infuriated by the situation. The same happened with the Greek government when the Greek schools closed. It raised this issue in the League of Nations* (Lidhja e Kombeve) and later in The Hague Court.

Along with the closure of the foreign schools, the Albanian government also closed the *Instituti Arsimuer* "Kyrias", the Normal school of *Stigmantine* Sisters, The Girls' Normal school of Korcha and the Girls' Normal Branch of the Albanian- American Institute in Kavaja, which formed the *Instituti Femnuer* (IF) "Nana Mbretëreshë" ("Queen Mother" Institute for Girls), in 1934, at the proposal of Dr. Ivanaj (*Instituti Femëror* "Nana Mbretëreshë, 1936-1937). Only two normal schools had survived in Albania: the Normal School of Elbasan and the IF "Nana Mbretëreshë".

The director of the IF "Nana Mbretëreshë" school was assigned Prof. Sotir Papahristo, a former pupil of the Normal School of Elbasan and the Jean Jack Rousseau Institute. At the direction of the Council of Ministers pupils from all the other schools that had been already closed were to attend the institute. The IF comprised eight grades and was divided into two courses: *seminatura* or the lower course, which was attended by pupils who had five-year elementary education and the *matura* or the upper course. Initially the pupils did not have the same level of knowledge as they came from schools with a different curriculum and this made the job of the teaching staff very difficult. The teaching staff consisted of Albanian, German, British and Italian teachers.

The Normal Branch of the IF "Nana Mbretëreshë" was structured based on the experience of the previous normal schools in the country. In determining the structure and the content of the Normal Branch of the IF, educators who had studied in Germany, Italy, France, UK and Austria were involved. The curriculum was approved by the General Directorate of Education. Professional subjects in the curriculum for primary school teachers included pedagogy, applied education psychology, logic, didactics, methodology, history of pedagogy, Laws and rule of order (*rregullore*) for elementary

education. Importance was also given to the *djathësi** which encompassed *crafts*, drawing, music and singing, musical instruments, physical education, agriculture (theory and practice), hygiene (for girls) and home economics (for girls) and military training (for boys). The same was true for the pre-school curriculum (*chreches*) which also included *child hygiene* (*higjiena foshnjore*), drawing, music, singing and “rhythmical” gymnastics (*gjimnastike ritmike*), musical instruments, physical education, and home economics. (Dekret-Ligja organike e Arsimit, No. 466, Fletorja Zyrtare, Vjeti X, Tiranë, 28 shtator, 1934, No. 54, p. 30). In 1937 the curriculum and the professional development of teachers improved significantly because of the foreign literature, which was introduced into the IF.

Admission to the IF was based on entrance exams. Initially the IF had 388 pupils. By 1936 the number of pupils had quickly reached 510. (Inst. “Nana Mbretëreshë 1936-1937, p. 33). The IF remained the only school for the preparation of women teachers until 1939. Being based in the capital city, the financial costs for attending limited the number of girls from remote districts as the government did not have the financial means to provide scholarships.

In addition to the IF “Nana Mbretëreshë” other schools also contributed to the preparation of women teachers. In Korcha, following the closure of the Normal school of Korcha, opened in 1924, girls began to attend the French Lyceum. In 1933-1934 the number of girls attending the Lyceum amounted to 100. Similarly, in Djirokastër, the number of girls attending the Gymnasium amounted to 40. The majority of them joined the teaching profession. Girls also attended the Normal School of Elbasan and the Gymnasium of Shkodra. The later had also a normal branch (Musaj 2002, p. 234)

In 1938, the Education Law on Secondary School Reform divided secondary schools into *normal schools* and *lyceum*. The normal schools prepared teachers and studies lasted eight years. The first four years comprised the *lower course* while the other four years the upper course. The *lower course* curriculum included Latin, Italian, agriculture, geography, mathematics, drawing, some music and singing. The *upper course curriculum* included Albanian literature, Latin, Italian, history, geography,

pedagogy, economics, mathematics, physics, natural sciences, geography, hygiene, drawing, music, singing, agriculture, school legislation and didactic and pedagogic practice. The four pillars of pedagogy were: *moral education, patriotic education, mental and physical development* of pupils and *national identity*. Later, in 1941 the school was named "The Girls' Normal School" and after the liberation of Albania was called *Shkolla pedagogjike "17 Nëntori "* (Pedagogic school "The 17th of November" – which is the day of the liberation of Tirana).

The invasion of Albania from Italy on April 7, 1939, country forced King Zog into exile in Greece. The implementation of the Ivanaj Reform stopped and education came under the Italian influence.

Teacher education during the Italian occupation

Although Albania was politically independent it had become increasingly dependent economically upon Italy because of the many sizable loans for the building of roads, public buildings, schools, medical facilities and so on. In return Mussolini demanded an Albanian monetary and customs union with Italy and the installation of Italian troops on Albania territory. King Zog refused this ultimatum which then led to the military intervention. So on 7 April 1939 Mussolini ordered the Italian army to invade Albania.

The invasion of Albania from Italy met with the resistance of the Albanian people. People took to the streets to protest against the invasion. In the seaport of Durrës fierce fights took place between the Albanian fighters and the Italian troops, but the superiority of the Italian army in artillery and number broke the Albanian defenders. The Italian government that was formed established its administration. In the Ministry of Education, headed by the Minister Ernest Koliqi, an Albanian educated in Italy, an administrative Council was put in place to deal with educational issues. It was composed of Italian officials and Albanian collaborators most of whom had adopted the Fascist ideology while studying at the Italian universities. Also a "permanent Italian advisor" was installed and a number of specialists were brought into the country.

A number of schools were closed as the number of secondary school pupils dropped. Many pupils were expelled from school and their scholarships were suspended because they took part in the protests against the Italian invasion. During the school year 1939-1940, out of 54.054 pupils 34.742 were in rural areas (overall rural population 876.866) and 19.342 pupils in urban areas (overall urban population 191.993). Also the number of girls attending school was proportionately lower. In the 1939-1940 school year, the number of girls in the elementary school education was 18.079 and of boys 34.024 (Historia e arsimit shqiptar, 1990, p. 448). During the academic year 1940-1941 Albania had 1.105 teachers (Statistika arsimore - viti shkollor 1940-1941 në Mbretërinë Shqiptare, in Veseli, 2000, p. 98).

The school curriculum included Italian history and fascism, the creation of the Roman Empire, the organization of the fascist party, fascist law, etc. Latin and Italian languages were taught in all years and German was taught in the German occupied areas. Indeed it was planned to introduce the Italian language to elementary schools but teachers refused to cooperate, thus it never happened. Steps were taken with regard to the increase of teachers' salaries. Higher salaries were given to teachers with a longer teaching experience and additional compensation for teachers who worked in difficult working conditions. Also, a number of teachers were sent on study trips in Italy and several were provided scholarships to study in the schools of Italy.

In 1941 most of Kosova and western Macedonia was unified with Albania under one administration (see Fig 6). In this period important developments took place in education. Albanians were also allowed to use Albanian as the language of instruction in schools and used Albanian textbooks and were given the right to use the National Symbols. Five year elementary education was made compulsory. Many elementary and secondary schools were opened in Pristina. This led to the need for more teachers. However, the number of teachers who had studied abroad and the teachers coming from Albania could not meet the needs. To resolve this the Ministry of Education adopted a three pronged

approach by: a) sending Albanian teachers to Kosova, b) opening two normal schools in Kosova and c) running three to six months *rende të shpejta*.

During 1941-1942, 200 Albanian teachers were sent to teach in the schools of Kosova (Berisha, 1994, pp. 26-27) and by the decree of the Ministry of Education, No. 31, of 12.11.1941, the Normal school of Pristina was opened. This was the first institution to be opened in Kosova for the training of teachers for Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, and the Albanian populated part of Serbia, where teaching was conducted in Albanian.

The structure of Normal Schools was almost similar to the Italian *magistral* in which the first four grades constituted the lower course while the other four comprised the upper course. However, the Normal school of Pristina had a different structure: classes I, II, III, IV, V were equivalent to the normal school while classes VI, VII, VIII were equivalent to the Lyceum. There were two main purposes for this form of organization: *firstly*, to prepare teachers in a shorter period of time in order to start schools in the liberated areas, and *secondly*, to create the necessary administrative framework for those who wanted to study abroad.

The fascist doctrine was introduced into the curriculum. It was taught in the third and fourth year. Pedagogy was taught in the second to fourth years, and teaching practice took place in the third and fourth year. During 1942 - 43 the Normal school of Pristina used the curriculum that came in effect in all normal schools in Albania during the 1941-1942 school year (Plani mësimor për shkolla normale – Viti shkollor 1943-1944, Veseli, 2000, p. 169). Professor Xhuvani's pedagogy books were used and several foreign books were translated into Albanian such as Gustav Le Bon, *Psikologjia e edukatës* (Psychology of education), L. Fournel "Njohuri të pëgjithshme pedagogjike" (General pedagogic knowledge), Rousseau's "Emili ose mbi edukatën" – Emile or on education, Ferrier's "Bakulet e Vepra e tij edukative". With regard to teaching methods and pedagogy, teachers were primarily influenced by the pedagogy of Giovanni Gentile and Ernest Krik (Rexhepagiq et al., 1997). Following the German

invasion fascist doctrine was removed from the curriculum but the professional subjects remained the same (Plani mësimor për shkollat normale të Shqipërisë në vitin shkollor 1943-1944).

Later in 1942 by Decree No. 273, of 23 October, the “Gjon Kazazi” *Normal school of Gjakova* was opened. Initially it was a Trade Technical Institute. Later a *normal branch* was opened and pupils of grades 1-4 of both schools received the same certificate. For this reason the school was called *The Technical Normal Institute*. In 1942 it became a normal school. During the 1943-1944 school year the school numbered 21 teachers out of which three were Italian.

In addition to the normal schools, in 1942, the Ministry of Education decided to open two *rende të shpejta* of three month duration. One was opened in Prishtina and one in Elbasan (Decree No. 43). Only candidates who had finished an Albanian normal or secondary school and of 18– 30 years of age could attend. The government provided them with a stipend of 150 Albanian francs per month, equal to the salary of a primary school teacher. Those who were successful in the exams qualified as schoolteachers. Those who failed were assigned as *provisional teachers* and after one year they were given a second chance to sit the exam; if they failed for the second time they could not remain in the teaching profession. In 1942 at the Decree No. 170, dated 25.VII, the duration of the *rende të shpejta* was extended to six months.

In spring 1944, the struggle of the Albanian people was entering a new phase. The Albanian population was highly involved in the liberation of the country and a new era was beginning. Efforts to lay the foundations of a “new Albania” began. The *Antifascist National Liberation Council* (ANLC) was formed to organize the struggle against the invaders and to organize the people in rebuilding the country. Education of people was crucial for the development of the country. To this end, the ANLC launched a circular announcing that:

“It is high time to lay the foundations of our new education which will no longer be the privilege of a small minority, but of the entire people. The National Liberation movement should extend the light of education to the remotest villages”

(Dokumente të organeve të larta të Pushtetit Revolucionar Nacional-Çlirimtar (1942-44), Tiranë 1962, p. 13)

The ANLC also launched an appeal to teachers to involve them in transforming the country. In August 1944 it developed a programme according to which elementary education for seven-year-olds was proclaimed compulsory. With regard to the content of education, while the war was still going on, the old textbooks would be used, leaving out parts, which ran counter to the ideas of the National-Liberation Council.

To discuss the future of Albanian education, during 25-27 November 1944, the first *Congress of the Albanian Antifascist Teachers* convened in Korcha with teachers from all districts of Albania. The Congress discussed how the education policy of the new government was going to be implemented, with the main focus being the opening of education for all people and the creation of a new type of school, which would fit to the new social and political system. The Congress criticized the old methods of teaching and the lack of appreciation of the teachers' role. Teachers were required to be involved in the struggle against illiteracy and whoever had reading and writing skills was welcomed to participate in this effort.

The delegates in the Congress expressed the need to strengthen unity among teachers by way of having only one organization. Thus, the *Antifascist Teachers Union of Albania* was founded. The closing resolution of the Congress advised teachers to go beyond the walls of the school, and work to lift the cultural and social level of the working masses and of women. The Congress highlighted the role of teachers, whose work should occupy a honourable position in the new social system (Cepa, 1963, p. 172) and that alongside the development of moral, physical and pedagogical traits, the teacher was charged with a new *political* role. He was to be the „right arm“ of the ruling party.

Conclusions

Post independence an Albanian education system was established for the first time, though because of the political situation in the country it operated in a limited territory. Following the opening of new schools the demand for teachers emerged. Three were the ways: *itinerant* teachers, *fast track pedagogic courses* and the *normal schools*.

For the first time, importance was placed in the position and the education of women and during this period a number of teacher preparation schools for women teachers were opened.

Outstanding people such as Luigj Gurakuqi, the Kyrias sisters and Aleksander Xhuvani played an important role in the development of education and teacher education in particular.

Foreign influences have played a significant role in shaping teacher education in Albania. The major and long-standing influence was the Austrian-Hungarian one, which was materialized mainly with the introduction of the Herbartian pedagogy.

Abolition of the Austrian curriculum was an outcome of the movement that began in Albania in the early 20th century to free education from religious influence. As a result the French and Swiss curricula replaced the Austrian one. Secularism was closely related with the Albanian national issue. The opening of a number of American schools brought about the introduction of progressive education. The dissemination of western ideas and approaches was effected through the teachers multiplying effect as well as the establishment of a communication network by way of pedagogic press.

The progress that is observed during this period came partly through authoritarian invaders but also due to the Albanian government's inclination to look outwardly by training people in western schools. They had a tremendous impact on education. However, the numerous influences created a pedagogic chaos in Albanian education, which was only eliminated following the Ivanaj Reform.

Political tensions exposed to and exacerbated by international tensions produced tensions and instability in education, which affected the sustainability of teacher preparation schools. Many of the arrangements were short lived. During the Italian occupation developments were displaced in Kosova.

During this period the status of teacher increased significantly. With the beginning of the National Liberation War the teacher preparation schools were restructured after the Soviet model and there was a re-dimensioning of the role of the teacher from an *apostle* to a *political commissar* to support the ruling regime.

Chapter five
THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND THE CHINESE MODEL
OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN POST WAR ALBANIA
(1945-1990)

Albania following World War II: political, economic and educational context

Following the liberation of the country in November 1944, the new Albanian government was recognized by the communist block member countries such as Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia. In the west, it was only recognized by France. Because a dictatorial regime was established in Albania, and due to the hostile attitude of the Albanian government instigated by Yugoslavia towards the United States and Great Britain, these two countries had reservations about recognizing Albania. In addition, because of the Corfu incident* relations between Albania and the Anglo-Americans were further aggravated. The situation came to the point that they withdrew recognition from the Albanian government resulting in the withdrawal of their missions from Albania. Consequently, Albania positioned itself with the Soviet Eastern Block.

The Soviet leadership did not consider the Communist Party of Albania as a separate party but as an appendix to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. When Stalin created the Informative Bureau*, in which all the European communist parties participated, the Communist Party of Albania was invited to participate as a member but was represented through the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. All the international problems facing the Albanian government were dealt from Belgrade; Stalin had even given a free hand to Tito to turn Albania into the seventh Republic of Yugoslavia. Kosova and the other Albanian territories that were under Yugoslavia were divided into four parts of the Yugoslav Federation: Kosova, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. Regarding Kosova, which appeared as a political subject equal to the other units of the Yugoslav Federation, the Yugoslav government discussed several options ranging from the split of Kosova among Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia to the unification with Albania. The last option was not taken into consideration on the pretext that

there were no favourable external and internal circumstances (Historia e Shqipërisë, 1994). In 1948 it was decided that Kosova would remain part of Serbia (see fig 4).

In post-war liberation Albania, the situation was very difficult as several regions were devastated. There was shortage of food and shelter for the population and transport was very difficult due to the lack of railways, roads and bridges. The communist government reorganized the state by establishing its central and local government bodies. To set up the State economic sector the government confiscated all the property of the “bourgeoisie” and imposed high taxes on businessmen. It nationalized all the mines and factories and applied the agrarian reform. Collective farms were set up based on the model of the Soviet “kolkhoz” model.

In the first year of post war Albania, 80% of the population was illiterate. There were only 654 elementary and secondary schools with 1,550 teachers (Jacques, 1995.p. 540). Books and teaching materials were non-existent in Albania’s schools. The reconstruction of the country and the development of its economy required educated people with the appropriate knowledge and qualifications. This made imperative the universalization of education and necessitated the immediate transformation of the education system. Intense debates within education circles were initiated as to how to best develop education. Some education “experts” were of the opinion to first train the cadres and afterwards open new schools, but government officials considered this inappropriate and decided to open new schools and alongside with it prepare cadres. So, in 1945, 336 new schools were opened (Shkolla e Re 1945, No.2). As people had different levels of education, the system of education with *collective classes** (mixed age classes) was applied. Such classes consisted of pupils of different ages and different education levels.

The expansion of the school network created a need for more teachers. Initially teachers who had graduated from the normal schools, and those who had graduated from higher schools in other countries, were hired. However, since the number of teachers with secondary education was still small,

more people were trained to become teachers; still there were insufficient numbers. As a result, people with no more than a few years of elementary school education, sometimes as little as five-years of elementary education were hired to teach. Such teachers would instruct in schools in the remote areas of the country. Not surprisingly, standards for the teaching profession were low.

Because the rural population accounted for the majority of the population, the government directed the expansion of education to the mountainous areas. This presented enormous challenges because at that time infrastructure in Albania was in very poor shape making it exceedingly difficult for people living in the mountainous areas to attend school. The primitive mode of living of the rural population was another major challenge. In cases where there were only a few houses in the village, and setting up a school was deemed not worthwhile, a school was built to serve several villages. In order to provide education to people in the remote areas, *itinerant teachers* were used. Such a teacher went from one school to the other to provide instruction two to three times a week (Shkolla e Re 1946, No. 4), for children of cattle farmers during migration. The *collective class* approach was applied. The school term lasted 40–45 days and was conducted outside when the people had their break at work. The teacher was given two horses to carry the blackboard and other didactic materials. Itinerant teachers continued to operate until 1965.

As the number of schools and the need for teachers increased, the 5th Plenum of the Communist Party launched the directive to start *fast track pedagogic courses* for the preparation of teachers. Upon completion of the course the trainees were appointed to different state-owned schools and were called “teachers on probation”. After being inspected twice by specialists from the Ministry of Education, they were referred to as “permanent teachers”. Although the Ministry of Education had limited funds, it allocated about 280.000 Albanian FR* (frangs) (Shkolla e re” 1945, No.1) to run the course.

In order to encourage people with teaching qualifications, the Council of Ministers divided teachers into categories with salaries according to categories. The first category teachers were paid from 180 FR

to 200 FR, the second category teachers from 200 to 220 FR, the third category teachers from 220 to 240 FR, and the fourth category teachers from 240 to 250 FR (A. Popullor 1947, No.1).

Developments were also noted in Kosova where the number of schools increased rapidly which prompted the need for teachers. The local authorities in Kosova took action to overcome the difficult situation with regard to the profesional level of teachers. Pedagogic courses were organized in Djakova, Prizren, Peja, Mitrovica, Pristina. They lasted from three to six months, based on a special program. After completing the course, participants were assigned to the Albanian elementary schools of Kosova. In the same way, to prepare teachers for the Albanians schools in Macedonia, in the summer of 1946 a pedagogic course was conducted in Scopje to train teachers for the newly opened Albanian schools in Macedonia (Shkolla e re 1946, No 2).

In November 1945 the Normal School of Elbasan opened again. The 1945-46 school year started in November 1945 because of the shortage of textbooks and teachers. Regular classes did not begin until December 2, 1945. A month later the school was staffed with new people. That school year the number of pupils was large because many pupils from the ranks of the national liberation army were enrolled. 210 pupils were enrolled but only 138 passed the first semester (The Museum of the Normal school of Elbasan). In the first year the school operated according to the old structure: five years for elementary, three years for *unike* (*senior* elementary school), and five years for *normal*.

Because the Ministry of Education of Albania was not yet well organized, and the preparation of new textbooks would take some time, the old textbooks and curricula were used. The involvement of “old teachers” was a major concern of the communist government:

“Now we are obliged to use the old curricula and pay attention to the teaching of history, pedagogy, psychology and morals because in these subjects, teachers or professors of an old mentality quite easily may disorient the youth and lead them not in the direction we want to, but to the opposite direction”.

(E.Hoxha, Works, Vol 3, 1982, p.126)

The 1945 curriculum of the *Normal School of Elbasan* comprised: Albanian language (senior course), History-geography, Albanian language and history (low course), Maths, Physics, Chemistry, Gymnastics, Agriculture, Drawing, Pedagogy, Crafts, Musical instrument and music Civil history. It also included history of the National Liberation war. This was the first step to give the curriculum a communist bias. As for foreign languages, Italian, Latin and French remained in the curriculum (Trëndafil, 1999).

As the Normal School of Elbasan could not meet the growing need for teachers, two other Normal schools were opened in 1946: the Girls' Normal School of Shkodra and the Feminine Institute of Tirana. The three schools operated on a common curriculum. But most of the teachers who graduated from the normal schools did not go to teach in the countryside because of the difficult living conditions there; hence priority was given to the Male Normal schools. At the same time the Ministry of Education selected pupils who were willing to teach in village schools and encouraged them with increased salaries (Shkolla e Re 1946, No.2). To train new teachers for the new schools in Kosova, one-year and two-year pedagogic courses were conducted for the training of new teachers in the Normal School of Prishtina, which applied a shorter version of the curriculum. In October 1946, a normal school was opened in Gjakova for the on-going training of the teaching staff. Training courses and seminars were also conducted with unqualified teachers and secondary school pupils and even people with only an elementary education, who would teach in elementary schools and conduct literacy courses. To assist in this regard, in 1945 about 80 teachers from Albania went to teach in the schools of Kosova until 1948, the year when the Yugoslav-Albanian relations were severed and Kosova was placed entirely under Serbia.

By this time it had become obvious that education in Albania was being oriented towards the "East". However, in the first two years of post war Albania the two main pedagogic trends were pragmatism and Herbartian pedagogy. These were reflected in the teachers' discussions and in the articles

published in the daily press and the periodicals. Although at times they became subject to criticism, there was a certain degree of flexibility in this regard. Articles about education in western countries were published in the education press (Shkolla e Re, 1946, No.2). This was also reflected in teaching. Global method was largely used in elementary schools. However, this changed in the years to come.

The sovietization of Albanian education – 1946 Education Reform and implications for teacher education

As Albania sided with the eastern block, an education policy in compliance with the stages of development of the country was applied. The country required people who could respond to the development of the economy and the new ideology “the new communist man”. In August 1946, the communist government launched its *Education Reform*. In April 1946 at the decision of the MoEC a Pedagogic Commission was set up. It was a consultative body for promulgating 1946 Education reform which began in August 1946 (FESH 1985). The three main objectives of the reform were:

- 1) To open education to all and eradicate illiteracy in the country as soon as possible;
- 2) To fight against and uproot the “old ideology” by ridding the country of surviving bourgeois and conveying communist ideas and principles as interpreted by the communist party, and
- 3) To improve the quality of educational and teaching processes in terms of scientific and pedagogic skills (Kambo, 1978).

At the outset, the focus of the 1946 education reform was the abolition of illiteracy and gave priority to the reopening of schools. Summer courses were organized under the slogan, “Education for All”. Education became free of charge, compulsory, and equal to both boys and girls. Taxes on school were abolished. New schools were opened, which increased the number of elementary schools to 1.097 (Kambo, 1978). Larger numbers of young people attended special pedagogic courses to become teachers. In the first year of the reform (1946-1947) the overall number of teachers increased to 2.612 (Kraja 1984).

Foreign and religious schools closed down and were replaced by the public and secular schools (Beqja, 1986). The duration of studies was changed from 13 years to 11 years comprising elementary school (1-4), junior secondary education (5-7), and senior secondary education (8-11) (Ligji i arsimit 1946).

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, held in February 1946, developed a platform to radically:

“... change the content and the educative and teaching methods; opening new horizons to realize the all-round communist education of the youth in order to make it an anvil for the education and molding of the new man”

(Beqja, 100 Vjetori i mësonjëtores së parë shqipe të Korçës, 1987, p. 48)

Communist education became the main pillar of education. It was supposed to be achieved *first*, by providing young people with broad knowledge and communist morale. The latter encompassed patriotism, hatred for the old regime, proletarian internationalism, the spirit of sacrifice, love of work, courage and loyalty to the fatherland; *secondly*, by doing away with the old curricula, and *thirdly* by “tempering the younger generation in the school of life”.

The implementation of the education reform and the application of a common curriculum faced various challenges, such as, the use of different methodologies due to the differing influences of the past, the introduction of the new curricula, and the teaching of mixed age groups with different levels of knowledge. Most importantly, the low ideological, political and professional standards of teachers became a major concern (Hoxha 1982, p. 47). The 5th Plenum* of February 1946 recommended two main tracks for the preparation of teachers for the new schools. *First*, training new teachers by combining the regular school courses and the fast track pedagogic courses as “a temporarily solution to the problem”; *secondly*, the retraining of the “old cadres” (i.e. teachers) with the aim to raise their professional and ideological level (Kambo, 1978, p.132).

As the development of pre-school education needed for more pre-school teachers, many young women attended the 1946 and 1947 courses (Kraja, 1984). A course was also organized for teacher helpers in crèches, where most of the curriculum comprised child pedagogy theory, the methodology of working in crèches and practical work. (A. Popullor 1947, No. 6-7). The Albanian Red Cross was also involved in this effort by conducting a course for kindergarten teachers. The course programme included psychology, pedagogy and teaching practice (Shkolla e re 1946, No. 4). In these courses teachers became familiar with the philosophy of the “new” school, education reform issues and the new curricula and textbooks as well as issues related to the political situation in Albania at that time (Kraja, 1984). Because of the limited funds a large number of teachers could not attend these training courses, so other forms of training were employed such as *education conferences* during the summer recess, organized under the auspices of trade unions. In cases when such conferences were not possible, teachers formed training groups of three or four to study the pedagogic literature. On their own initiative, experienced teachers took the lead in this effort (A. Popullor 1948, No. 6, p. 18-29).

The 1946 education reform brought Albanian education under the influence of the Soviet style of education; significant changes were made in the curriculum. Marxist-Leninist philosophy permeated all textbooks and the new curricula and textbooks were designed after the Russian model. The Russian language was also introduced in the curriculum, which led to the use of Russian materials and resources. Old textbooks were removed and were substituted with ones from the Soviet school on the ground that:

“The old school had left strong traces, particularly amongst professors, in the methods and in the entire work of the school ... Therefore, the need to wage a fierce struggle against these reactionary fascist ideologies has emerged; it is indispensable to set up a new school, which will educate the young people with a scientific and dialectic materialist outlook”

(A. Popullor” 1947, No. 1. pp: 5-6)

The content of education would determine what kind of pedagogy Albanian educators would choose. The Soviet experience was made available to all educators through the educational press. The Review “Arsimi Popullor” (People’s Education), organ of the Ministry of Education at that time, published several articles on the developments of the Soviet education. Albanian teachers were invited to become members of “Yugoslav-Albania Cultural League and to subscribe to the “Albania-USSR” review. In order to familiarize Albanian teachers with the experience of Soviet teachers, the book “The Soviet Teacher” was published. Also, many articles were published on different educational events happening in the eastern block countries. Articles on the Russian experience were published in every issue of the review. Criticism against the old school system began. It was described by labeling it as “a passive school, whose lecture methods encouraged intellectualism and repressive discipline” (Dedja, 1972, p. 106). John Dewey’s progressive education was considered as a significant hindrance to the establishment of a “unified” education system based on a didactic approach, which ignored the teacher’s role in the learning process

The orientation of Albanian education towards Soviet education met with the resistance of educators, particularly those who had graduated from the Normal schools in Albania or in the West. There were heated debates amongst educators concerning the orientation of Albanian education. The Minister of education, Sejfullah Malëshova*, for instance, argued that “Albanian education should be impartial, not only Marxist, and that it should have an open and pluralistic character and needs to side with *both east and west*” (Beqja, 1986). His views were rejected and as a consequence he suffered lifelong imprisonment. Preng Gruda, a 1941 *normalist pupil*, (who later fled to the US), writes in his memories that:

“When I stated that our education programme is entirely Soviet, not at all suitable for our country and that it will not enable us to move ahead, the Vice Minister of Education addressed me: not the education authorities, but the security police will have to deal with you”.

(Trëndafili 1999, p. 93)

Teachers became targets of the regime. The secret police began to gather information about teachers who were suspected of being against the government's reforms, hated the communist government, and had no confidence in the friendship with the Yugoslav government (AQSH, F. 1011, 1946, d.61, p. PN).

The establishment of the new political system required "a new type of teacher". In this context, the former Normal schools became subject to sharp criticism:

"Our teachers relied on the old knowledge acquired in the normal schools of the country with a Herbartian orientation or by reading the works of western scholars such as John Dewey, Clapare`de, Ferrier, etc, whose pedagogy teaches people how to better serve their capitalist bosses. In order not to fall into the clutches of this pedagogy and to work on the basis of the pedagogic science, our teachers have been given the opportunity to become familiar with the Soviet pedagogy and the views of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on teaching and education"

(Shapllo, 1949, No. 5, pp. 27-28)

The government's main goal was to bring the teacher to the standard that would make him the government's primary aide, free the teacher from old prejudices, and first and foremost to free him from the hypocritical and apolitical school" (Kongresi I i Partisë Komuniste Shqiptare, 1948. p. 181). The dictator considered the ideological and political preparation of teachers a priority as they would prepare the future teachers and generations "in the spirit we want" (Hoxha 1969, Vepra, vol. 3, p. 280). Consequently, in the first year of the education reform, as in all the other secondary schools, pedagogic schools also underwent significant changes. The course of study changed from 13 to 11 years. Their aim was defined:

"to train elementary school teachers with the necessary culture and theoretical and practical knowledge to enable them to carry out their task; to train and educate teachers who will be honest and loyal to the People's Republic of Albania"

(Programa per shkollat pedagogjike, 1946, p. 34)

The 1946 curricula stated that pupils who finished pedagogic schools would teach in villages. To this end, the teachers of pedagogy were advised to give particular importance to extracurricular activities such as out-of-school teaching (literacy courses) and community libraries.

As for the Normal school of Elbasan, its name was changed to “ July 10th” Pedagogic School -- the day of the creation of the General Headquarters of the Albanian National Liberation Army. Significant changes were also made to its curriculum. For the first time communist education (its aims and issues) was introduced to “provide the pupils with sound scientific knowledge and to implant in them *communist values*”. The curriculum and textbooks changed and were developed following the Soviet experience. The Italian language was removed from the curriculum and the Russian language was introduced instead. Greater importance was also given to the sciences, the number of hours devoted to them equalled those in the *gymnasium* (secondary school). The so-called *left hand subjects* (djathtësitë), comprising music, drawing and physical education were diminished in the curriculum (Kamami 1959, p. 35). The Soviet experience was taken from Russian textbooks, reviews, and newspapers as well as from correspondence with Russian specialists. For five years Russian teachers taught Russian in schools. The school staff of the Normal School maintained correspondence with the Pedagogic School No. 2 of Moscow. The Soviet influence was so pervasive that the Normal School of Elbasan celebrated “Albanian-Soviet evenings”. Indeed, the school was awarded prizes by the Albania-USSR association (Kamami, 1959)

A closer link was established between pedagogic practice and theory through a better coordination among the pedagogy teachers, the leader of pedagogic practice, the mentor teacher, the subject area methodologists, and the headmaster of the *ushtrimore school*. The *mësime prove** (model lessons) was introduced in the one-week pedagogic practice. In the first year, classroom observations focused on how the theory of pedagogy was practised in schools. Before teaching the class, candidates had to attend a model lesson (a class) in the *ushtrimore school*. The lesson was designed in consultation with the teacher of pedagogy, the methodologist and the mentor teachers. At the end of the school year,

before sitting for their exams, pupils were required to have a two-week practical placement in the urban schools.

After changes were made to the new curricula, it was observed that the 1946 curricula of Pedagogic schools was not in line with the “*old approaches*” of the *ushtrimore* school. The “old pedagogy” was criticized as being “stagnant in essence” (Paçrami, 1947). In order for the new pedagogic schools to provide the new educators with “new” perspectives, educators were advised to study the post October revolution, Soviet pedagogy, and to look closely at the Yugoslavian experience in the field of education. The Serbo-Croatian language was introduced as a foreign language in the curriculum. More emphasis was placed on the “ideological preparation” of teacher students through emphasis on the subject area of Marxism – Leninism. In the academic year 1948-1949, the curricula of the pedagogic school of Elbasan, and of all other pedagogic schools, was changed again.

The development of the country’s economy, the rapid increase of the network of schools, and the education of people with the new “communist ideology”, made the preparation and the training of teachers a priority. In December 1946 the Congress of Educational workers was convened. Several issues were addressed such as the political and professional competence of teachers, the new role of teachers in the education of the younger generation with communist values, the role of teachers in providing pupils with contemporary knowledge, their involvement in social and education reform issues. In order to raise the quality of the preparation of teachers, in December 1946, the Council of Ministers decided to open the two-year *Higher Pedagogic Institute*, initially with 28 pupils (A. Popullor 1956, No. 12). In the 1947 its mission was defined:

“The Pedagogic Institute of Tirana is a higher institution of university studies which trains pupils to become teachers for elementary schools (unique i.e. 1-7 grade, my note) of the People’s Republic of Albania in the following disciplines: the Albanian language and literature, History, Geography, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics”

(AQSH, F. MA, 1947, d. 33)

The Institute was set up after the Soviet model. Most of the textbooks were translations from Russian (A. Popullor 1957, No. 11, p. 23). Until 1957, 250 pupils graduated from the Institute.

The political, economic and social changes in Albania demanded that education should be in compliance with the new political and economic system. Curricula were developed to respond to the “socialist ideology and pedagogy”. The role of teachers „against the old school“, the consolidation of the new one, and the retraining of teachers by way of re-educating them through the acquisition of socialist pedagogy were addressed in a meeting of the Ministry of Education in February 1947, which pointed out that:

“For such a big reform, both in spirit and breadth, the issue of educators is an essential issue; it is a *conditio sine qua non* for the reform implementation”

(A. Popullor 1947, No 2-3, p. 19)

There was a concern that “in some teachers and professors, there still existed “reactionary” western ideologies” (Paçrami 1947, p. 6) and that the majority of teachers did not have a “high ideological and political preparation” (A. Popullor, 1947, No. 6-7). There was a fear that the schools contained many *normalists* and many old teachers, who were trained in the fast track pedagogic courses. Teachers from junior elementary schools were hired to teach in the senior levels of the elementary school. The majority of secondary school teachers, including those who had a university diploma, lacked pedagogic knowledge. The dictator was worried about the quality of some of the educators and said that:

“In general they have an old bourgeois culture. They have not developed their scope of knowledge with the new Marxist culture. They need to be geared towards the Marxist- Leninist road, but this is no easy task. New courses need to be opened in order to educate teachers.

(Hoxha, 1969, Vepra, vol. 4, p. 9)

In order to provide these teachers with necessary pedagogic knowledge, pedagogic courses were organized. Upon completion, participants took an exam and were appointed “elementary school teachers” (A. Popullor, 1947 No. 6-7).

Although the Normal School of Elbasan had become subject to criticism on several occasions, the quality of its teachers was appreciated because:

“ ... in the past, in the Normal school of Elbasan, there was a pedagogic preoccupation; more attention was given to teaching methods than in the pedagogic schools at present. Although the Normal school of Elbasan worked in a poor and stereotypical way, it created a pedagogic tradition, introduced a working method at schools and increased teachers’ interest in the pedagogic and educational issues. ... At present we observe that the elementary school teachers are distinguished from secondary school ones with regard to their teaching skills... There exists a common working method among the elementary school teachers, a particular methodology that emerged from the Normal school of Elbasan in particular and disseminated by teachers who are not Normalists but have followed their example”

(Shuteriqi, 1947 b, p. 20)

To support teachers in their professional development, in February 1948 the “Central Teacher’ House (Shtëpia Qendrore e Arsimitarit)” was opened (A. Popullor, 1948). It supported teachers in their political, pedagogical, and academic preparation. Seminars, scientific sessions, and pedagogic exhibitions were organized. The center was also charged with educational experimentation, recommending necessary literature for teachers to read, helping them become familiar with teaching methods, and disseminating their positive experiences.

During the academic year 1948-1949, 113 new schools were opened, mainly in villages, with the number of schools now totalled 1.909. In 1948, *evening schools* were also opened (Kambo, 1978) in order to increase educational opportunities. As the number of schools increased, so did the need for teachers. The government created various educational opportunities for people who wanted to become

teachers. In 1948, the number of pupils in the Pedagogic Institute, together with correspondence pupils amounted to 213 (AQSH, d. 26, 17.9.1948). On 25.IX.1948, decision No.226, regarding education by correspondence for the preparation of teachers through correspondence courses at the Didactic Centres* was issued. The number of pupils attending the teacher preparation courses increased rapidly. Because there was a considerable number of unqualified and inexperienced teachers, it was also decided that experienced teachers should provide support to those with less experience.

Although new pedagogic schools were rapidly opened, the demand for elementary school teachers could not be met. Therefore, new ways for preparing teachers were sought. Teachers who had not finished the *matura*, and had failed the exams, were given opportunities for retraining. After sitting for an exam, they could attend the relevant class in the pedagogic school (A. Popullor 1947, No. 2-3, p. 97).

1948-49 academic year	70 % of elementary school teachers	elementary education or seven-year education
	3.100 elementary school teachers out of which	800 teachers had secondary pedagogic education
		1.300 teachers only seven year education or three classes of secondary education
		1000 teachers had only elementary school education
	80 % of teachers with secondary school education	no proper qualifications
	143 secondary schools teachers	48 had some amount of higher education

(Kambo, 1978).

The first Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, (8-22 November 1948), which changed the name of the Communist Party of Albania to the *Party of Labour of Albania* (PLA) defined the main orientations for building socialism in Albania by lifting the country out of backwardness. Consequently, the educational level of the people needed to be increased. For this reason the role of the teacher was highly valued. The government's concern was:

“...to bring the teacher to a new level, to make him one of our first aides, to free the teacher from the old prejudices he was educated with and above all to free him from the hypocritical presentation of the apolitical school”

(Hoxha Vep 5. p. 249, cited in Kraja, 1984)

The teacher was no longer considered as a person who provided instruction in a certain subject, but also an educator in and out of school. This new role for the teacher required the ideological and political preparation of teachers in addition to their knowledge of their specialist subject area. To this end in 1948 six to eight weeks fast track pedagogic courses were conducted. The training programme comprised of ideological and political information, which acquainted teachers with the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, knowledge of pedagogy and methodology, as well as practical experimentation (Prova praktike e punë laboratori). Criticism was made of the way teachers were treated in the old system:

“In the old Albania the teacher was a creature who was looked down upon... the work to control the schools was done by an illiterate *dzandar** who was also responsible for monitoring the teachers’ behaviour”

(Kongresi I i Partisë Komuniste të Shqipërisë, 1950, p. 175)

In June 1948 Albania’s relations with Yugoslavia severed and Albania fell entirely under Soviet influence. The political and economic changes were to be reflected in the education of people. Albanian educators became aware that education should develop based on Soviet curricula and pedagogy (Bashkimi, 19 January, 1950). Consequently, the Marxist – Leninist scientific and pedagogic structures came into being. Teacher training was based heavily on the “New Soviet methodologies” (Bashkimi, 19 November, 1949). Much of the Russian pedagogic literature was translated and given to teachers, such as the “Pedagogy” of V.K Goncharov and B.P. Jesipov, the “Psychology” of Kornjilov, the “Elementary Didactics” of Jesipov, and Kalinini’s “ On communist education” (A. Popullor, 1948, No. 5). Russian language was introduced as the only foreign language in all schools and Russian

pedagogic literature was published and referred to. Every number of the *Arsimi Popullor* review published articles on the Russian education system, communist education in Soviet Union, teaching experiences from Russian teachers and the life of outstanding Russian leaders and educator.

The meeting of the Teachers' General Education Council was convened on the theme "On a sound education and ideology in our schools" and highlighted that the ideological and educational issues had been ignored during the education reform. Emphasis had been placed mainly on pedagogical and methodological issues. So there was need for the preparation of teachers to rely more strongly on "the socialist Marxist-Leninist pedagogy" so that education could accomplish its task (Beqja, 1986).

However, Albanian educators who had studied in western schools made efforts to keep western pedagogy alive among Albanian educators. In the 1950s, Rousseau's book "Emile or on education" was translated by Sotir Papahristo. The book infuriated the dictator because Rousseau was considered "a bourgeois philosopher". In an interview (2000) with Prof. Papahristo, he stated that in a secret bulletin, which was delivered only to communist party members, the dictator had sarcastically stated, "wasn't it enough to have Emile in French but I am also given the book in Albanian!" He stigmatized the author and the publishers by labeling them "people with cabbage in their heads", in other words, "stupid". Following this, Prof. Papahristo and his family suffered persecution.

The perennial problem of providing teachers for rural areas continued. So, the government decided to open a provisional pedagogic school in Shkodër to train teachers for village schools. People coming from villages were encouraged to attend. After they completed the pedagogic school, they could attend the Higher Pedagogic Institute of Shkoder, which was opened on the decision of the Council of Ministers, No. 271 date 13.IV.1951. Also, on the decision of the Council of Ministers No. 548 dated 28.07.1951 the two-year Pedagogic Institute of Tirana was changed to four years (AQSH. F. 1011, 1961, d.18). Russian professors assisted in designing the curricula (AQSH. F. 1011, 1951, d. 76). Also students who had studied in Soviet Union were hired to teach in the university. This same year, the

pedagogy and psychology department was set up at the Higher Pedagogic Institute (A. Popullor, 1951, No. 10).

As education was being extended in the remotest areas of the country, on decision No. 655, dated 21.08.1950 of the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Education decided to establish the *Correspondence Sector* under the umbrella of the Pedagogic School and the Ministry of Education at the same time. The course of study was four years. People were tested on a regular basis through tests, tutorials and written and oral exams. The correspondence classes and tutorials were scheduled two days a month, on weekends, for six hours (AQSH, F 1011, 1954, d. 17). Also, in 1951 the government opened the “Ndrec Ndue Gjoka*” pedagogic school in Durrës; it was based on the elementary school. Two years later the school moved to Tirana in the “Pupils’ Town (Qyteti i Nxënësit)”. The school had a dormitory and all pupils received a scholarship from the state. They were 12-18 years of age. Although it was based on the elementary school, junior and senior secondary school subjects were taught. With the improvement of the teacher situation, the school was closed with an enrollment of 1071 pupils and 900 graduates, who worked as primary school teachers. The majority of them went through “complementary exams” to receive the pedagogic school diploma. Many others attended part time higher studies in the pedagogic higher institutes to qualify them to teach in elementary and junior secondary schools (Mësuesi 19 September 2001, No. 28).

The 2nd Congress of the PLA in 1952 laid out the tasks to change Albania from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial country and eliminate illiteracy. In 1955, the number of elementary schools increased to 2.174. The economic development and the growth of the number of schools required not only more teachers but also highly qualified teachers. Until then, teachers in Albania were prepared in pedagogic schools and in the three-year pedagogic Institute, as Albania did not have a University. To increase teachers’ professionalism Albanian 839 students were sent to study in the schools of the communist countries during the period from 1951 to 1955 (Revolucionarizimi i

mëtejshëm i shkollës 1969). Education specialists were trained in the Higher Pedagogic Institutes of the Soviet Union.

The objective set in the 3rd Party Congress in November 1956 was to change Albania from an agricultural country into an industrial-agricultural one with industry becoming top priority of the government. The link between education and life was emphasized. As the new economy needed knowledgeable people, by decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PRA, No. 2476, dated 3 VI.1957, the Tirana University was opened with two teacher education faculties: History-Philology and Sciences with courses of four year duration. The focus was on academic subjects. Professional subjects were of secondary importance, not only in terms of the number of classes but also in the way they were conducted. Pedagogic practice initially took place in the schools of Tirana and later in suburban areas (Universiteti Shtetëror i Tiranës 1957-1967).

The Congress also identified the need to train 1.000 teachers and to open the Higher Pedagogic Institute in Shkodër. So, following the opening of Tirana University, the *two-year Higher Pedagogic Institute* opened in Shkodra for elementary school teachers. Initially it had two faculties: history-geography-physical education and biology-chemistry. Later, two other branches were introduced: Albanian-language-literature and mathematics-physics. A part-time study system was also established. One year after its opening, cooperation was established with elementary schools and the *Kabinete Pedagogjike**. From 1959 until 1962, *passive pedagogic practice** was introduced in the third semester once a week. *Active pedagogic practice* took place three times a week in an elementary and junior secondary school in town, and for one week in a village school because secondary education was not yet so well developed in the late 1950s. The majority of pupils came from towns. In order to link „school with life“ from 1960 until 1964 „Pedagogic practice in pioneers' camps“ was organized (Buletini shkencor 1987).

The teacher Education faculties and the pedagogic schools did not provide sufficient qualified teachers for all schools. To assist unqualified teachers, the *Instituti i Perfeksionimit të Mësuesve* (IPM - Institute

for the Retraining, of Teachers) based on the Russian model was set up in 1957. Teacher training became the responsibility of the *Seksioni i Arsimit dhe Kulturës** (SAK) (Local Education and Culture Authorities) and the IPM. The purpose of the *KP* was to organize the ideological and professional training of teachers. It also provided recommendations concerning the literature teachers were required to read (A. Popullor 1957, No. 5). The Institute comprised ten subject area methodologists. Initially, training courses were only delivered for the elementary school teachers from Tirana. Later, teachers from other regions of Albania would come to Tirana to attend a one-month course during the summer holidays, free of charge. Courses were also conducted for the inspectors and directors of SAK; following the course they were expected to observe teachers and assist them in classroom practice.

The IPM came under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education and Culture. It operated in the districts through the *Kabinete Pedagogjike** (KP) which were first established in Tirana in 1952 and later in the other districts. The *KP* comprised of experienced education specialists, parents and people from the working class that formed the so called “*aktivi i kabinetit* (the board of the cabinet)”. The *KP* was the in-service arm of the SAK and controlled the work being done in schools at the request of the MoEC and the SAK, but the *KP* had no control over funds whatsoever.

Another structure, dealing with teacher training issues and under the IPM was the *Rrethi Metodik* (Didactic Circle)*. These were set up at the request of the IPM director and in the context of the reorganization of teacher training to support teachers in their “ideo-political, technical and professional knowledge”. *Rrethe Metodike* were set up in 10 districts and later extended throughout the country to assist the training of teachers. They brought together teachers of the same subject area on the basis of district, groups of schools or even teachers in one school. At the head of the *Rrethi Metodik* was a didactic leader who supervised and advised teachers in several schools on didactic issues. He was supposed to visit teachers once a month to see how new knowledge and experiences were discussed in the *Rrethe Metodike* and applied in classrooms. In addition to the meetings in the didactic circles, model lessons were also conducted.

Teacher training was also organized within individual schools through the *Komisione Metodike** (Methodological Commissions) which operated in large schools to assist teachers in improving their pedagogic knowledge and teaching skills by way of seminars or through teacher exchange. This school-based approach, in which inexperienced teachers received support from experienced ones, was under the direct supervision of headmasters (A. Popullor 1957, No. 8, p. 4-8). While in small village schools, where there was only one subject specialty teacher because of the small number of pupils, *Inter-school Methodological Commissions* were set up, they comprised subject area teachers from several schools.

In 1960, only 50% of elementary school teachers, 24 % of junior secondary school teachers, and 63 % of senior secondary school teachers were qualified (Myftiu, 1960). As teachers were required to become political aides of the regime, their “professional growth and updating of knowledge was not just a personal issue, but an obligation to the state and the people” as well (A. Popullor, 1959. No.9). To this end the Central Committee of the PLA, decided that all teachers must attend two-month training courses during five-year programme. Even though by 1960 Albania had eight pedagogic schools they could not train as many teachers as needed. At the same time the limited capacity in the Pedagogic Faculties did not allow to prepare enough teachers for junior secondary schools.

Breaking away from Soviet Union

When Krushev assumed power and changed his political line, the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union opposed the Stalinist policy. This brought about Soviet-Albanian tensions, which in October 1960 reached breaking point. In the 1956 Congress the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, asked the Warsaw Treaty countries to change their political course. This was severely criticized by the Chinese leadership in the meeting of 81 communist parties in Moscow in November 1960. In this meeting Hoxha sided with the Chinese government. Since the PLA did not accept the course of the Soviet Union, relationships between Albania and the Soviet Union were

severed. The government of the Soviet Union cancelled all educational, cultural and commercial agreements and contracts with Albania. It abruptly stopped aid and went so far as to sever diplomatic relations. Other Eastern European countries under the Soviet hegemony followed suit (see Fig. 7). Pupils studying in the Universities or Institutes of Eastern and Central European countries were suspended from continuing their studies and were sent back to Albania.

Under such circumstances teachers represented:

“ ... a military unit round the Party, tempered politically and ideologically, closely linked with the people... In our society the teacher enjoys a special respect and honour. The actions taken by our Party and government for the material and moral treatment of teachers proved Lenin’s words that in our socialist society the teacher should be held in higher regard than before, is not and will never be in the bourgeois society, have translated into reality”

(Myftiu, 1960, p. 79–80)

The 4th Congress of PLA in 1961 addressed the issue of Albania embarking on the road of building the material and technical base of socialism (FESH 1985, p. 516) and launched the concept that, “the construction of socialism and the future development of the country called for the reorganization of the entire school system based on the Leninist principle”. The real aim of the resolution was to purge the schools of Soviet influence and rewrite the textbooks. The entire system was integrated more closely with industry to train Albanian young people in order to replace the Soviet specialists, should the later be withdrawn, as they eventually were in 1961. The country needed people with sound knowledge to build the technical base of the country. Consequently the structure of the school was changed. The seven-year elementary education was extended to eight years in order to provide pupils with a higher general and technical level, and to prepare them for work. Also an additional year was added to the 11-year general education programme and *punë praktike* (practical labour) was introduced into the curriculum. The aim of *edukata e punës* (labour education) was, “to provide psychological and practical orientation for pupils in their future professions”. Pupils were required to do each year a month *punë praktike* in factories or agricultural cooperatives (Mbi organizimin e shkollës, 1960).

All teaching plans and curricula were revised making significant changes in their ideological content. More emphasis was put on communist education by introducing new political subjects in the curriculum. Civic education was introduced in the eight-year school. While in the secondary education, knowledge of Marxism – Leninism was deepened.

The new structure of education aimed at closely linking school with everyday life and with the practice of furthering socialism (A. Popullor, No.8, 1961). So *home economics* was introduced into the elementary school curriculum and *productive labour* (mësimi i punës) into the curriculum of secondary schools. Secondary schools now had three main goals: to provide general education, secondary polytechnic education, and to train future workers. The regime sought dominance supporting the idea that scientific progress was always the necessary response to practical needs. Science was equated with technology, which is the use of science for practical purposes. Technology was glorified as science and made an important contribution to progress toward communist goals. Specialists in the area of technology, industry and agriculture were hired to deliver lessons on productive labour and working skills.

In 1961, the number of students studying in the teacher education faculties were as follows:

University of Tirana	1.190 students
Higher Pedagogic Institutes	4.050 students
Pedagogic schools	12.350 pupils
Two-year pedagogic schools	3.500 pupils

(A. Popullor, No.1, 1961, pp. 24-25).

However, unqualified teachers accounted for 44% percent of the teaching force. The Ministry of Education organized one to two year fast track courses to alleviate the problem. The IPM conducted one-month courses with about 900 teachers (AQSH, F 1011, 1961, d. 10). It was expected that by

1965, 70% all teachers would be qualified. In addition, the Council of Ministers opened a one-year course at the Pedagogic Institute of Tirana during the 1962-1963 academic year, in which 700 teachers participated. Teachers received pedagogic and political training. They were paid for attending and, upon completion, were provided with the Pedagogic Institute diploma (AQSH, F. 890, 1962, d. 589, p. 1). However, the accuracy of these figures, although elicited from official sources, is questionable because under communism, figures were often used for speculative, propaganda and political purposes. In any case, the problem itself was real and remained unsolved - partly because the targets set were overly ambitious.

As the regular forms of teacher preparation could not meet the demand for teachers, other forms were employed for the preparation of teachers. The two-year pedagogic schools were planned to function until the year 1964 while the fast track pedagogic courses, and the training courses in the two-year Higher Pedagogic Institutes would operate until 1963. Also 1.300 pupils attended the Training School that was opened in Elbasan, 400 pupils in the “workers’ school”, 400 in the training courses at the Pedagogic Institute, and 1.570 pupils in the fast track pedagogic courses.

Immediately after breaking relations with the Soviet Union, the fight against “Krushevite revisionism” began in order to protect the Albanian school from the influence of “Soviet school”. This period was characterized by a fierce struggle against Soviet pedagogy and eastern pedagogy in general. The Plenum of PLA, criticized Soviet pedagogy severely because:

“while on the one hand it supposes that communism is being built in the Soviet Union, on the other, little attention is devoted to productive labour, which is no longer in the curriculum on the assumption to allow more “free time” for young people and to help develop young talents thus orienting young people towards intellectualism and career development”.

(Plenumi VIII cited in Gaçe, 1973, Pedagogic Review, No. 3, p. 159)

The theories of John Lock, Spencer, Herbart, and Dewey became subject to criticism. Foreign methods such as the Dalton plan and individualized learning, which were so popular in the Soviet Union and the Eastern block countries at that time, were criticized on the ground that, “they encouraged the bourgeois practice of special focus being placed on gifted children”. Indeed, the Dalton Plan was described as an “Americanization of the Soviet school” (Dedja, 1967, p. 31).

Dedja (1972) argued that the influence of Soviet pedagogy and psychology in the Albanian schools was shown by the overestimation of mental education in school, the absence of a relationship between school and the realities of life, verbalism and formalism in the teaching and educative methods applied, and in the formal authority of the teacher reflected in the distant relationships between the pupil and the teacher. However, Soviet pedagogy and Soviet literature remained the only source of information available for Albanian teachers. Articles from Wishinsky, Krupskaya, Makarenko, Lenin and Stalin were made available to teachers through publications and the educational press (*Historia e Pedagogjise*, 1965). As a result teaching became markedly teacher-centered. The reproduction-based approach was prevalent. Pupils were given vast amounts of knowledge to memorize. Creative and critical thinking skills were not enhanced. In every lesson teachers were required to mention in their lesson plan *the ideological bias* (boshti ideologjik). This meant that the entire teaching process was pervaded by communist ideology. Even mathematics and physics teachers were required to use examples from the “socialist reality”.

The Chinese influence – the “revolutionarization*” of school and extreme politicization of teacher education

Following the break with the Soviet Union, Enver Hoxha, the First Secretary of PLA, established relations with communist China. This development had a negative impact on the political, social and cultural aspects of the country and further contributed to Albania’s isolation from the West. Chinese delegations began to visit Albania more frequently and Chinese specialists came to assist Albania in the process of developing the country’s economy. Several Albanian students attended the universities

of China. Chinese professors taught mainly in the English department using Chinese textbooks. Chinese culture, so different from Albanian culture, began to be instilled through Chinese materials, which inculcated the propaganda of the political regime of the time. In the meantime the Cultural Revolution took place in China, where several Chinese intellectuals were sent to work in the rice fields for re-education (re-edukim). These developments had a negative impact on Albania. The Chinese lifestyle was made known and imposed. Simplicity was required in clothing and every effort to imitate Western World was subject to severe criticism through the so-called *dacinbao** (fletë rrufe). The first to receive such criticism were the intellectuals, of whom many were against this new change. Frequently they were either sent to jail or sent to work in the remotest areas of the country.

Under the conditions when Albania faced the so-called “imperialist and revisionist blockade”, the 5th Congress of the PLA in 1966 emphasized that, during the 4th five-year plan Albania would, enhance the development of industry in order to narrow the gap between town and countryside, and carry out the ideological revolution under the motto “Think, work and live as revolutionaries” (FESH, 1985 p. 517) to hinder the emergence of capitalism and revisionism in the country. The issue of moulding the new man, as the main factor to protect socialism from these negative developments, assumed special importance. The construction of socialism, relying not on foreign help but on “our own forces”, called for the need of well-prepared specialists. The strengthening of the ideological content of education and its quality became a paramount task:

“Our school, in its entire work should first and foremost give absolute priority to the ideological Marxist-Leninist bias, the teaching of Marxism Leninism and the multi-faceted ideological, political and Marxist-Leninist education of the youth”.

(Beqja, Për një hop të ri në zhvillimin e pedagogjisë Marksiste-Leniniste” 1969, p. 76)

This new mission required teachers to be responsive and prompted changes in the teacher education curriculum with greater importance being placed on teaching methods in order to prepare teachers with better teaching skills. To this end, in 1966 the Ministry of Education asked the University of Tirana to

develop the teaching methodologies for secondary schools. Pedagogic schools were given the task of developing methodology textbooks for eight-year school under the leadership of the *School Research and Publications Department** (Mbi sistemin e kualifikimit te kuadrit arsimor” Drejtoria e Studimeve dhe Botimeve Shkollore Tiranë, 1966). In order to standardize teacher training, the Council of Ministers established a single training system, which was defined by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Teachers of all categories of schooling had to participate in a one-year training course once every five years based on a set plan and involved elementary and secondary qualified schoolteachers with less than 10 years of working experience.

The training course focused on three main issues:

- 1) Ideological-political subjects (with some philosophical and political elements, etc.) were highly important.
- 2) New knowledge in subject areas, and
- 3) Pedagogical, psychological and didactic knowledge.

Teachers were divided into subject area specialties. From September 1968, teachers’ remuneration was based on their performance during this training.

The *School Research and Publications Department* charged the pedagogic schools, the two-year Pedagogic Institutes and the Tirana University with the task of designing the training curriculum. Pedagogic schools were in charge of the training of elementary school teachers in the districts. The Higher Pedagogic Institutes were responsible for training the eight-year schoolteachers. Unqualified teachers were trained via correspondence courses.

In the training seminars a point was made with regard to the evils of western pedagogy, which advocated the child’s active participation in the learning process. John Dewey’s pragmatic theory was criticized on the ground that “it deprived pupils of systematic learning and acquisition of thorough

knowledge of science” and focused on pragmatic learning and bourgeoisie individualism, which detached the individual from life. The neo-pragmatic active pedagogy of Ferrier was considered “to educate the selfish and individualistic bourgeoisie person while creating anarchy in the teaching and learning process” (Dedja 1967, p. 14).

The new orientation of education called for changes in education. Law 4624, dated 24.12.1969, set forth new tasks for “revolutionizing the school”. Article 13 of the Constitution stated that:

“Education in the People’s Republic of Albania ... is built on the basis of Marxist-Leninist outlook, and combines learning with productive labour and military training”

This movement involved the broad mass of the people in debates on the content and structure of the education system. Soviet education was criticized as “pseudosocialist” (Dedja, 1971). The need for the *ideological upgrading* of teachers through the study of Marxism-Leninism and the works of Enver Hoxha was highlighted (Mësuesi, No. 7, 1969). In addition, the educational authorities launched the idea of linking individual study with the involvement of teachers in political activities such as the promotion of political ideas in the teaching process, agricultural work and writing slogans on the slopes of mountains. Teachers were required to learn “not only from books but also from socialist life and the workers” (Mësuesi No. 3, 1969).

In the framework of *revolutionizing the school*, the education system was again reformed. Pre-school education was extended to the villages and was incorporated as a fully integrated part of the education system. The aim was “to achieve the social education of children from 3 to 6 years of age, to cultivate the first off-springs of communist education, and to prepare them to enter school” (Mësuesi No. 52, 1969). All children were obliged to attend the part time and full time kindergartens. The entry age to school was changed from seven to six. These developments led to the opening of the branch for “kindergarten teachers” in pedagogic schools.

Junior secondary level of education was made compulsory. In senior secondary school elements of military education and productive labour were introduced. All categories of secondary schooling were unified with general knowledge being the main focus. In order to strengthen the ideological bias in the entire teaching and educational process, curricula were extremely politicized. The Marxist-Leninist subjects and the History of PLA were extensively introduced. *Communist education* pervaded all subjects. What was more than anything else in *the new man* was the loyalty to the party and the mastery of communist ideology. General knowledge was of no value if a person was insufficiently politically and ideologically mature (Dedja, 1972).

To protect the school and the young people from the “bourgeois-revisionist degeneration”, the *working class control** over school “was to be applied in all aspects of life with its main target: the teachers and professors” (Hoxha, 1982, p. 546). The working class control was carried out by education specialists and people from the working class who controlled education through meetings, talks, and face-to-face discussions with educators from different levels of schooling. This form of extreme control aimed at increasing the power of the working class and at ensuring the application of the policy of the Communist Party on education as well as preventing the establishment of revisionism and capitalism in Albania.

In higher education the ideological bias further strengthened and the “*revolutionary triangle*” (Teaching – Productive Labour – Physical and Military Training) was introduced and formed the basis of communist education. The content of textbooks was also a main factor in revolutionarizing school. The “ideological bias” of textbooks carried positive examples from the Albanian context (Mësuesi, No. 10, 1970). Teaching reduced to seven months as one month of military training and two months of *productive labour* in factories became part of the curriculum. Productive labour was considered very important, because it was believed that “by spending a longer time with the productive sector, pupils could be more ideologically mature and at the same time could develop more professional skills”

(Mësuesi, No. 2, 1969). The admission of male pupils to higher education was made after they had finished the one-year *stazh* (stage) in an industrial field following secondary school.

The introduction of the “revolutionary triangle” had implications on the whole teaching process. Consequently, knowledge acquisition was reduced, since the time allocated to the teaching process was now shortened (Gaçe, 2000). The new teaching and educational methods became also part of the revolutionary change. In the old-fashioned teaching methods applied in schools there was a lot of formalism and learning by rote was prevalent. To change educational and teaching practices, it was recommended to apply teaching methods that would encourage creative thinking skills, to apply the research method in the teaching process, to provide pupils with self learning skills, and to use technology in the teaching process” (Josifi, 1972, pp. 19-24). Sharp criticism was made of the so-called “didactic bureaucracy” and “the rigid framework that restricted teachers’ creativity and discouraged pupils’ initiative” (Mësuesi No. 52, 1969). Two ways were recommended for overcoming these drawbacks. *Firstly*, improvement of the working style of teachers, through the mastery of subject area knowledge, higher numbers of pupils passing classes and intensification of research work, and *secondly*, the strengthening of “socialist democracy in school” through the strengthening the “proletarian discipline”. Also, emphasis was placed on the need to change teacher-pupil relationships and the authoritarian attitude of teachers. Better cooperation between the two was advocated. The teacher was required to increase pupil involvement in the learning process. Consequently, the ideological training of the large army of teachers was required. In order to support the ideological and professional training of teachers, the “Teachers’ Palace” opened (Mësuesi No. 30, 1969). All education specialists, regardless of their teaching experience were required to undergo ideological, political, scientific and pedagogical training. Teachers were directed to read the materials of the PLA, as well as materials on socialist pedagogy. This training was achieved via: 1) Individual learning, 2) Training courses, and 3) Research in teaching.

Ideological moulding of teachers was done through the so-called “party education courses” that were conducted once a month. At the end of the course there were group discussions and a test followed afterwards.

In circumstances where the relations with other countries were non-existent or very limited, there emerged the need to establish a Research Institution that would deal with educational and pedagogical issues. To this end, the Didactic Branch (Dega Metodike) of the Ministry of Education, the Directorate of Textbook Publishing, and the IPM merged and the *Pedagogic Research Institute* (PRI) was created in 1970.

As the issue of unqualified teachers had remained unresolved, the government adopted a policy according to which unqualified teachers were required to attend retraining courses organized in the districts through the *Kabinete Pedagogjike* under the auspices of the IPM. Seminars were conducted by experienced teachers. While for secondary school teachers the training courses were conducted by the PRI and the teacher education faculties of the Tirana University. The PRI was charged with the pedagogical and psychological training, while the teacher education faculties were charged with the academic upgrading of teachers.

The main form of teacher training became school-based training. On instructions from the *Kabineti Pedagogjik*, every school developed a training plan taking account of the needs of the school. In order to assist teachers of small schools, *inter-school centres* were set up for teachers of the same subject area to have their training together. Seminars as well as discussions about school curricula and textbooks took place. Village teachers were only allowed to take part in these training seminars only six days per year. On a regional scale, seminars and pedagogic conferences were conducted by the *Seksione te Arsimit dhe Kulturës* in the first 10 days prior to the beginning of the academic year. (Orientimet mbi drejtimet kryesore dhe përmbajtjen e punës për aftësimin e mëtejshëm të kuadrit arësimor, Ministria e Arsimit dhe e Kulturës Tiranë, 1971).

Concerning the improvement in the preparation of teachers, in 1970, the Higher Pedagogic Institute in Shkodër changed into a three-year system. The pedagogy and psychology teachers, who previously were part of the *General Subjects Department*, separated to form the *Commission of pedagogy and psychology*. At the same time, with the expansion of elementary and junior secondary education, there was a greater need for teachers. As a result the number of full-time students in Higher Pedagogic Institutes increased. This prompted the opening of two other three-year Higher Pedagogic Institutes in 1971 to train elementary school teachers of Albanian language and literature, mathematics and physics, history, geography, biochemistry, mathematics and physics: one in Elbasan and one Djirokastra. The number of teachers increased significantly (see Fig 8)

In 1972 a more liberal atmosphere began to prevail. The Italian TV channel, which was the only foreign TV channel permitted in Albania, encouraged people to have strong, positive feelings for the Western mode of living. People talked about foreign music and literature, followed Western styles of clothing and began to verbalize the advantages of the Western culture. Proof to these new attitudes was the 11th Song Festival, where certain individuals displayed signs of modernism. This shift in people's attitudes worried the communist leaders who, in the 4th Plenum of the PLA held in June 1973, emphasized the struggle "against alien manifestations and the liberal attitude towards them". The organizers of the Festival were fired, imprisoned or sent to remote districts for re-education.

After the 4th Plenum of the Communist Party the Italian and Yugoslav TV channel were closed and foreign literature coming into the country was thoroughly censored. Unprecedented terror was exerted on the Albanian intelligentsia. However, efforts to access illicit information did not cease. People still listened to foreign media channels in secret. Later TV antennas, which could capture Italian channels, were banned leading people to invent indoor aerials to catch the Italian or the Yugoslav channels. In schools, the youth organizations were very vigilant in identifying pupils who ran counter to the party

ideology. Open criticism of pupils began and pupils were encouraged to openly criticize teachers in case of such manifestations.

The New Constitution of PSRA of 1974 affirmed the principles of *revolutionizing the school* in the Article No. 32, which stated that, “The government takes particular care in the development and education of the younger generation in the socialist and communist spirit”. To this end the methodology of “*puna edukative*” (i.e. teaching of values) became part of the curriculum in the teacher education faculties. However, this was only a conjectural solution and was not treated seriously. To improve the preparation of young teachers, the *one-year stazh* was applied for the first time in 1974 in which the *stagiare* was paid a smaller salary and taught a reduced number of hours. The *stagiare* was considered to be part of the university until he sat for the final exam. Initially he taught under the supervision of an experienced teacher and at the end of the probation period sat for an exam or defended a diploma thesis.

A survey at the Higher Pedagogic Institutes revealed the need to place more emphasis on “the communist traits of the teacher, his role and authority, his pedagogic skills, his political and moral profile as well as his tasks as an educator and social activist” (Lloja, 1987, p.19). To this end in the Faculty of History and Philology in the Higher Pedagogic Institute in Shkodra, the number of study hours in psychology and pedagogy increased. In the first year, pupils dealt with the youth and pioneer organization, while in the second and third year they went on school visitations where they could observe classes. Pedagogic practice took place in the fourth year and was divided into passive (observational) and active pedagogic practice. In the first the student merely observed classes conducted by an experienced teacher, while during active pedagogic practice the student taught classes under the supervision of a mentor teacher. The Higher Pedagogic Institutes attributed more importance to professional preparation of teachers as compared to teacher education faculties in the Tirana University. The practical training of students was improved by increasing the length of studies from two to three years, and later from three to four years. While in the Higher Pedagogic Institutes they

constituted only 10 % of the curriculum, in the teacher education faculties of Tirana professional subjects comprised around 6 % of the curriculum (Bilushi, 1977).

Teacher education in an isolated Albania

In 1976, the relationship between Albania and communist China was aggravated when Communist China established relations with the United States and in 1978 the relationship was severed completely. All contracts and agreements with the Chinese government were cancelled and all Chinese specialists left.

The 7th Congress of PLA (1-7 November 1976) launched the five-year plan to change Albania from an industrial-agricultural country into one with an advanced industry and agriculture. With Albania now isolated from both east and west, the idea of implementing the *socialist revolution relying on our own forces* and of the technical-scientific revolution was launched. There was a general paranoia of invasion and defensive bunkers mushroomed all over the country. The communist government emphasized the need for the general strengthening of education and intensification of research so that the country could manage without relying on foreign assistance. Academic preparation became a priority, as did the ideological preparation of students. In the curriculum of pedagogic schools political preparation retained the same significance. However, more attention was given to professional subjects. Subject area textbooks on teaching methodology were developed for almost every single subject and new subjects were introduced into the curriculum. Military training remained a very important element in the curriculum.

Efforts were also made to improve teacher training. In 1980 post-university training of teachers was introduced by way of the so-called “refresher courses” which later were called “*attestation courses* (atestim)“. They also had a component on methodology. At the recommendation of the *Seksione te Arsimit*, teachers with more than five years of teaching experience could attend these courses to upgrade their knowledge provided they met the requirements of the Attestation Commission; it

assessed performance and academic results of the candidate, degree of involvement in social activities, and his political and moral attitude. Later it became compulsory for all teachers to attend *attestation courses* at five, ten and twenty years of their working experience. This training was also accompanied with a salary increase. The training programme comprised three components: academic preparation, the methodology of teaching and practical lessons. This system remained in place until 1990.

Until 1985, the retraining of elementary school teachers was the responsibility of the *Kabineti Pedagogjik* while teachers of junior secondary school were retrained by the Higher Pedagogic Institutes. While senior secondary school teachers were retrained in the University of Tirana. Foreign language teachers also were retrained in the Tirana University. Teachers of specialties such as agriculture, art and physical education were all trained in the respective institutions.

In the period to 1985, school based training was the most popular. It was organized by the *komisione metodike*, that were comprised of teachers of the same subject area who taught in the same school. Schools where the number of specific subject area teachers was fewer than four, and could therefore not form a core group, joined with two or more schools to form the subject area commission. Each commission had a chairman who taught six hours less than other teachers, in order to allow him to conduct classroom observations. A special training programme was developed by the PRI and approved by the Ministry of Education for the training of the chairmen of the *komisione metodike*.

The 8th Congress of PLA in 1981 emphasized the building of socialism by “fully relying on our own forces” (FESH, 1985, p. 520) and stressed the importance of the communist education of the people. In addition to expanding education to the remote areas, attention was to be paid to the quality of education. Strengthening elementary and junior secondary education was the main target. The Council of Ministers decided to extend the studies for the preparation of junior secondary school teachers to four years. So, by 1981, the preparation of elementary school teachers became mainly the responsibility of the Higher Pedagogic Institutes of Elbasan, Shkodër and Djirokastra. However,

pedagogic schools continued to operate in parallel to the Higher Pedagogic Institutes. The Higher Pedagogic Institute of Shkodër developed a more flexible curriculum in order to provide routes to teaching for more people: *the provisional plan* and the *definitive plan* (a long-term plan). The *provisional plan* applied to students who had graduated the general secondary school. While the *definitive plan*, was applied for pupils who had graduated the pedagogic school. The curriculum was more or less the same for both.

As a large number of elementary school teachers had only secondary education four-year *correspondence education* with a teaching load of 12-14 hours per week were opened in order to provide them with pertinent professional knowledge (Graceni, 1982). At the same time professional preparation in teacher education faculties, together with pedagogic practice, increased to 17.7 % of the curriculum versus 14.4 % in the previous three-year system (Lloja, 1987). Also, the issue of teaching methods was raised as a precondition for improving the quality of education and discussions about active and creative thinking, problem solving and discussion methods became hot topics within education circles. However, pedagogy and psychology specialists who could discuss these issues were few in numbers and only comprised of those who had studied in the Soviet Union. Therefore, in 1981 the University of Tirana began a one-year course to prepare pedagogy and psychology specialists. The course comprised social psychology, personality psychology, age psychology, recent approaches in teaching, didactics, theory and methodology of communist education, and the history of pedagogic thinking. In 1990, the methodology of research work was added to the course content. By 1990, two hundred education specialists had finished this course (Mësuesi 1990, No. 29).

A survey carried out in 1985 showed that in the first grade of elementary school, most of the time was spent on explaining and story telling as opposed to being interactive (Alickaj, 1985). To improve matters, respective departments in universities developed subject area methodologies. It was also decided that some of the elementary and secondary schools would become *mentor schools* with experienced teaching staff. At the same time, university departments were involved in the training of teachers. Indeed it became compulsory for university teaching staff. However, this form of training was

extremely formal because there was no exchange of ideas between the teachers and the lecturer. The lecturers, being university teachers, hence not close to the school environment, were unable to provide teachers with real examples from schools.

In April 1985, the dictator Enver Hoxha died and the people expected changes in the political course of the Party and in the opening of Albania to the world, but were shortly disappointed. The Secretary of the Central Committee who replaced him, Ramiz Alia, made a public statement that he was a staunch follower of his forerunner by stating that “we would follow Enver’s path”. This was also confirmed in the 9th Party Congress which was convened in 1986. The importance of improving the quality of schools and the significant role of teachers was stressed. The new government that was formed comprised more competent people. The situation in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) changed when Skënder Gjinushi, a former student in France was appointed Minister. Some elements of a more liberal attitude crept in. The “political background” of pupils coming from so-called “overthrown classes” became less important and were now allowed to attend higher studies.

Foreign literature was introduced into the country. He also supported innovations in the new curricula. Foreign language curricula were revised putting special emphasis on the communicative approach. In the math curriculum the theory of units (*bashkësitë*) was introduced. Also the global method in reading was introduced into the primary school curriculum, (grades 1-4). The curricula in other subjects were also revised permitting less rigidity.

In a meeting of the MoEC with foreign language experts participating, the issue of how to improve foreign language learning in the Albanian schools was discussed. The need for the development of new curricula and textbooks was emphasized. In the meantime, the broadcast of English and French TV language programmes started which helped to expose people to Western culture and civilization. Foreign textbooks were used experimentally in schools and a one-month training course to help teachers how to use the textbooks started. The foreign languages departments were also highly

involved in the development of new textbooks and the training of teachers in the use of new materials and new teaching approaches.

With regard to curriculum changes in the foreign language faculty, initially one university staff member was trained in Romania, which was later followed by others in France and Sweden. This new injection of experience resulted in the introduction of new subjects. However, although a shift from the old practices had begun, education still continued to place an emphasis on the political education of pupils, although to a lesser degree. For instance, in the curricula the so-called “ideological bias” retained its importance. Along with the exam or the diploma thesis in their specialty area, students were required to sit for an examination in Marxism – Leninism but not in pedagogy and didactics („Enver Hoxha“ University of Tirana, 1957-1987).

The changes that were made were only temporary measures to make immediate improvements. In-service training still remained the subject of criticism for being disorganized and with no clear aims. The very long intervals between the training sessions and the large number of teachers in the training sessions did not allow exchange of ideas among teachers. So one-year teacher training course were started which involved also departments in universities. In the 1989-1990 foreign language teacher-training curriculum political literature was not mandatory for teachers and emphasis was placed on the “academic and didactic modernization of the subject matter” (Mësuesi No 26, 1990). In parallel with this, the MoEC continued the *attestation* programme and it introduced an evaluation system in which teachers who failed in the *attestation* exam would not get a salary increase and to re-sit.

Attention was also given to the pre-service curriculum. A survey was conducted to examine the level of qualifications of university teachers. It had become evident that teacher training had been far too formal and that the teacher-training programme did not offer any new knowledge for teachers but simply repeated the knowledge acquired in the higher school. A proposal was made to change the structure of pedagogic practice (Muka, 1989). As Tirana schools could not meet the needs for the

pedagogic practice of student teachers, the MoEC decided that the pupil teachers would have pedagogic practice in their own districts, where they came under the supervision of an experienced teacher. At the end of pedagogic practice the pupil teacher was required to submit an essay, related to the subject area, to both the didactic commission and university departments; the latter would then mark. However this was not always the case. This new system of pedagogic practice was not welcomed by the higher education teachers; the system was difficult to control due to the remoteness and dispersion of the mentor schools. Another difficulty was the large number of student teachers in each mentor school, which had a negative effect on the quality of pedagogic practice. Furthermore, student teachers were often accompanied in the mentor school by “improvised methodologists”(Mësuesi, No. 39, 1990) who were inexperienced in teaching.

Criticism was also placed on pedagogic schools as having no clear goals and that their curriculum was more or less the same as the general secondary school (gymnasium) curriculum. The course on pedagogy and psychology was very short. Subject area methodologies were not taught adequately. Often pupils in pedagogic schools had low results and could not attend Higher Pedagogic Institutes, as they could not meet the minimum standard required. Also, due to the low status of the teaching profession, secondary school pupils were not keen to attend teacher education faculties. As a result, pupils who had graduated general secondary education or art schools attended Higher Pedagogic Institutes. These pupils chose teacher education faculties because other Institutes or Faculties required higher standards (Mësuesi 1990, No. 10). Only 30 % of pupils who graduated from the pedagogic schools could attend the Higher Pedagogic Institutes for training elementary school teachers. In 1990 there were 39.955 teachers in Albania (see Fig 9)

The new situation called for the reorganization of education. But the major economic and political crisis in the country, and the ensuing breakdown of public order in 1990, plunged the school system into chaos.

Conclusions

With the establishment of the communist system in Albania the entire educational system was re-organized to reflect communist ideology. The regime's objective for the new school system was to eliminate illiteracy, to struggle against any "bourgeoisie way of thinking" in the country's culture, and to bring schools under the control of the state. Over the years leading to the late 1960s education in Albania developed, through the establishment of an education system at all levels, reduction of illiteracy, and expansion of the network of schools. The opening up of education to the larger population by applying central control mechanisms, created certain education problems such as lack of creative thinking and stereotypical teaching styles.

Teacher education developed to respond to the new mission of education and the economic development of the country. On the one hand there were factors, which made change difficult such as the lack of textbooks, buildings, teachers and hostile attitudes inherited from the "old" regime, while paradoxically some of those factors made change easier. Lack of teachers meant that gaps had to be filled with new ones with new attitudes.

Teachers became tools of the ruling party and were important to the regime to act as "indoctrinators" and their status was high.

A comprehensive system of both pre-service and in-service teacher education was established. Teachers were prepared in fast track pedagogic courses, pedagogic schools and higher education institutions. In-service training was initially done in an ad hoc manner but later an in-service structure was put in place.

The intellectual and geographical isolation of Albania and censorship of literature coming into the country led to a limited pedagogy, a lack of entrepreneurial culture, and to sole reliance on Soviet pedagogy. However, because of the common ideology the Russian influence continued regardless of

the break in the relations with Soviet Union. The Chinese influence consisted in an extreme politicization of education.

The Albanian teacher education model, through its strongly politicized curriculum prepared teachers whose responsibility was to transmit communist ideology. However, the system could in a sense afford to be rigid and repressive in so far as it was dealing with captive population. The educational system remained the same way until it disintegrated following the political changes that occurred in 1990.

Chapter six
Transition
(1990 – to date)

The beginning of the ideological collapse

The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the collapse of communism in the so-called „Soviet satellites“ provoked many changes in the Albanian cast-iron regime. Albania like other countries of Central and Eastern Europe was bankrupt. Many factories closed down because they were inefficient, leaving 40 % of the population unemployed (Council of Europe report, 1991). The people in the non-productive sectors of the economy were paid 80% of the monthly salary without working at all. This economic policy of the government further exacerbated the situation, which became worse in rural areas where 65 % of the population lived without any kind of private property. The agricultural cooperatives and state farms began to collapse. The population did not see any future in the state farms. Internal migration from the rural to the urban areas began. From July 1990 onwards the extremely difficult economic situation forced many Albanians to migrate to neighbouring countries, mainly Italy, Germany and Greece. This first migration faced an entirely different reality from what they had been told by the communist propaganda.

The internal pressure as well as that from the international community forced President Alia to initiate some changes; for instance, farmers were allowed to sell their products. In the press the first articles began to appear criticizing the regime and the „democratization of the country“ was discussed in many cells of the party. The Party informed people that „plurality of thought“ would be allowed but not „political pluralism“. At a meeting with high ranking party leaders which was broadcasted on the national TV station, President Alia expressed his loyalty to communism. Although, many people considered him a liberal communist leader, often referred as the „Gorbachev of Albania“, the people were suspicious of his commitment to democratic reforms. There was a general awareness that it was high time for political changes.

In addition, the acutely embarrassing news of the defection of Albania's top literary personality, Ismail Kadare, to France, was another strong blow to the regime. Before his defection, Kadare had a three hour interview with President Alia during which he had asked for a number of reforms: improving Albania's human rights record; allowing peasants to own their livestock and private plots of land; renewing ties with the West, renouncing to Stalinist style of dictatorship and reopening mosques and churches. Seeing no window of hope he thought that his defection could contribute more to democracy than continue collaboration with his regime.

In September 1990 legal reforms loosened the grip of the State on public behaviour. The pressure was further compounded by the student revolts which broke out in December 1990, forcing the communist leadership to accept the creation of an anti-communist opposition, which led to the first multi-party elections on March 31st 1991. These elections were won by the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA, i.e. Communist Party) but shortly after a wave of strikes and revolts effectively prevented it from governing. The first non-communist government, called the *Government of Stability*, was formed in June 1991, following an agreement among the parties according to which the opposition parties would all be represented in the government. This political agreement created peace among the parties through to the elections of March 1992.

Although a radical programme was drafted and ratified by Parliament, the government could only begin the liberalization of prices, exchange rates and foreign trade. It partially removed the subsidies and laid down the first principles of a new fiscal system. The privatization of land and small retail services started while all restrictions on movement including foreign travel and emigration were lifted. Freedom of religion was established in law and practice, and human rights' records improved markedly. By the end of summer of 1991 political prisoners were freed. Workers won the right to freely associate and form trade unions of their own choosing.

The two main political parties of the country were the *Party of Labour of Albania*, (renamed the *Socialist Party*), and the *Democratic Party* (opposition party). Consequently, two main political groups were formed: the *socialists*, who were the successors of the communists and the *democrats*, who opposed the communist regime. This polarization led to the creation of two groups of Trade Unions: The *Confederation*, supporters of the socialists and the *Syndicate*, supporters of the democrats. Teachers also organized themselves in two Trade Unions: the *Teachers' Confederation*, and the *Independent Syndicate*. In the confrontational political context these two organizations became tools of the two main political parties rather than protecting the rights of teachers.

The 45-year isolationist policy of the communist government had prevented democratic culture to flourish. For many people „freedom“ meant that one was free to do whatever one wanted and anarchy rapidly set in as criminal gangs started to become more active. A growing feeling of insecurity soon paralysed the population as kidnapping of children and young girls were reported. Many parents were forced to accompany their girls to school to ensure their safety.

The political, economic and social changes as well as the accumulated problems of the past increased people's anger against communist dictatorship. Schools were seen as institutions where communist ideology nourished the minds of people. In a display of their accumulated anger people destroyed, burned down or damaged 5,330 school facilities, (30 % pre-school buildings and 55 % 8-year schools) (Mbi reformën arsimore, Ministria e Arsimit, 1996). The World Bank report (1994), estimated rehabilitating costs of school buildings, furniture and equipment to be at the minimum 8 million USD. In the first year of post-communist Albania there were 3,174 pre-schools, 1,580 primary schools (grades 1-4), 1,764 elementary school (grades 5-8) and 515 secondary schools and 5,440 kindergarten teachers, 29,553 elementary school teachers and 9,553 secondary school teachers.

Although the poor social and economic situation in the country and the appalling conditions in schools demotivated pupils to attend school, Albania entered the transition to democracy with high levels of participation in education. This was reflected in high enrolment rates across all education levels.

According to the Ministry of Education data, the drop-out rate of school children in 1991-1992 was 6.31% (The Albanian Response to the Millennium Development goals, 2002, p. 18). In pre-school the attendance rate was 33%-34%, 94 % of elementary school children attended school while in secondary education, mainly in the vocational and agricultural schools attendance was 42 % (Mbi reformen arsimore, Ministria e Arsimit, 1996). Deep poverty in families was the major reason for school drop-outs, as many of school children had to work the land for a living.

Another factor in the school drop out rate was the reemergence of an age long phenomenon in the north-east of the country, the *blood feuds* (vendetta). This custom, which implied taking revenge for a family member who had been killed, by killing one male from the family of the murderer, had existed since the 15th century. The communist regime managed to reconcile the families who were „in blood“ by using mediators, but also by taking severe measures to stop the phenomenon. But, the so-called „class struggle,, (i.e. struggle of the communist regime against people who opposed the regime) had opened wounds which only waited for democracy, for them to be revealed. Many people had been imprisoned or killed for political reasons, and this had fuelled strong feelings for revenge. Consequently, many children were obliged to stay indoors for fear of being killed.

The government that formed following the 31 March Elections 1991 assigned Maqo Lakrori as Minister of Education. His first action was to depoliticize* the curricula. All ideological and political references were removed in the new editions of textbooks and teachers were instructed to avoid political information in their class.

In parallel to this, the first private schools emerged following a request from the Islamic Union to open a *madrase* (islamic school). This caused the Ministry of Education to prepare the Guideline No. 14 of 18 December 1991 how to apply the curricula in grades five and to open foreign schools. After this foreign schools and *madrase* were opened in several towns. The curriculum included the teaching of religion.

Despite the government's efforts the situation in the country worsened leading to the resignation of the Government of Stability in December 1991, which continued to run the country during the electoral campaign from December 1991 to March 1992.

The transformation processes in education

The elections on 22 March 1992 brought the Democratic party to power. The democratically elected government continued economic reforms. Close ties were re-established with Italy and relations were normalized with other countries. Albania's attempt for a rapid transition from a closed Stalinist state to a democratic market economy was difficult. The 45 years of the communist, isolationist and autocratic regime had left a legacy which could not be easily swept away. However, the major decline in output was followed by strong recovery. Agriculture and small industries were almost entirely privatized.

When the democratic government assumed office, the educational situation was very difficult. Many school buildings had been damaged, particularly in the villages. About 60% of school materials were damaged or missing; 80 % of laboratory equipment was non-existent. To address the „emergency situation“ the Ministry of Education, headed by Ylli Vejsiu, turned to foreign support. In the 22 July 1992 meeting with G-24 countries, (i.e. the 24 most developed countries in the world) the MoE presented a request for assistance based on four priorities: school reconstruction, school furniture, equipment and glasses for the windows, publication of textbooks, and transportation for teachers teaching in remote areas. To bring back normalcy in schools, the government first dealt with rebuilding of schools. Several donors responded to the appeal such as the World Bank (26 schools), European Community (25 schools), Soros (19 schools), UNICEF (2 kindergartens) (Mësuesi, 1995, No. 12).

Education reform began in the summer of 1992 with structural changes inside the MoE. However, changes were not major. The former *Curriculum and Textbook Department* was abolished. The *Cadres Department* was renamed the *Personnel Department*. The three departments: the *8 Year Education*

Department (grades 1-8), *Secondary Education Department* (grades 9-12) and *Higher Education Department* remained unchanged, but other than by exception were re-staffed with new people including all the heads of departments. In the Secondary Education Department, the *Vocational Sector* was opened. The MoE had two Deputy Ministers, one for pre-university education and another for higher education.

The reform also brought *structural changes* in other institutions under the umbrella of the MoE. In the Pedagogic Research Institute (PRI) the *Science and Humanities Sector* merged to form the *Curriculum Department*. The *Departments of Vocational Education* and of *History of Education* remained, whereas the *Publishing Department* was closed. A new department, the *Teacher Training Department* (TTD) was formed which was in charge of in-service training.

At the local level, following the decision of the Council of Ministers No. 18, of September 1992, the Ministry of Education decided to dissolve the *Pedagogic Cabinets* and the former *Local Education Authorities* (Seksione të Arsimit) and formed the *Local Education Directorates* (LEDs) directly reporting to the MoE. The LED's responsibility was to deal with educational issues at the local level and consisted of two sectors: the *General Sector* which dealt with all educational issues at the local level and the *Control, Qualification and Retraining Sector* (CQRS), the latter consisted of inspectors, who were appointed by the head of the sector. The duty of the CQRS was to make sure that the education law was properly implemented. All Directors of the LEDs were replaced and staffed with new personnel.

A number of other private elementary and secondary schools were also opened at the request of the Catholic Church via the Union of Jesuit Fathers. Protestants also opened their school through the „Qiriazi Foundation“. The Italians opened the „Motrat Benedectine“ school in Durrës and a Maltese school was opened in Korcha. When these schools opened, there was no legislation in place and arrangements were made by way of provisional normative acts. The government had approved their

opening but had not prepared the necessary framework for the opening of private schools. They opened based on local initiatives.

With regard to the education system, the 8-year school was maintained with its elementary level (grades 1-4) and junior secondary (grades 5-8) (see fig 10). In remote mountainous areas multi-age classes were formed in 360 schools because of the low number of pupils. This was not only a solution to the problem of educating people in rural areas where teachers were scarce, but also contributed to the decrease of the number of unqualified teachers.

The introduction of the market economy influenced the reshaping of secondary school priorities as new branches of vocational schools opened: tourism and marketing. In order to respond to the needs of the market economy, several irrelevant vocational schools were closed. However, the lack of a clear strategy on the development of Albania's economy made it difficult to define clear educational aims and to develop a clear education reform strategy.

Albania's opening to the world very soon revealed that new knowledge and skills were required in the emerging competitive society. The country had a large number of specialists but their knowledge and skills did not enable them to meet all the challenges of the democratic society and the market economy. This called for a change in the mission of education:

„Public compulsory education aims to develop creative, practical and physical abilities of students, to develop their personality and to provide them with the basics of general culture and civics“

(Arsimi në Shqipëri, Dosje kombëtare, 1997, p. 46)

The change following the communist regime did not merely require a change within the system. Karsten and Majoor (1994, p. 27) have pointed to the importance of identifying:

- the damage done to *knowledge*, as a number of social sciences and humanities had been neglected and oppressed;

- to *critical thinking* and *reasoning* which had prevented experimentation with new educational ideas;
- to *profession* as the teaching profession had suffered a loss of prestige and respect and its main role being transfer of communist ideology;
- to *values* because for more than forty years communist values were forced on people and institutions.

Isolation and past ideology had left a dire need to update traditional disciplines that were mainly encyclopedic and facts orientated. The curricula did not have broader social, cognitive or learning process objectives that should be achieved by the majority of pupils. The school curricula and textbooks were obsolete; their content was not only inappropriate to respond to the new developments but it remained politically charged with the old regime concepts. It was imperative to *further depoliticize* the curriculum and the MoE decided that the curricula had to be freed from any indoctrination information and terminology and scholastic activity became entirely free of the influence of political dogma. In addition to this, efforts began to modernize the curricula by taking a student-centered approach. A *National Committee* was set up in the MoE to provide recommendations concerning reform issues and to suggest changes to be made in the curricula. Also several other committees were set up for the core subjects such as history, geography, Albanian language, reading and music. New syllabuses were developed in maths and biology, Albanian language and civic education for elementary school. Human rights education was introduced as a cross-curricular subject.

Civic education was introduced in 8-year school. In secondary education new subject areas were introduced such as *environmental geography* and *knowledge of society* for grade one and two of secondary school to replace Marxism-Leninism. At the recommendation of the *History Committee*, a new ratio between local, national, European and world history was taken into account, while political economy which referred to the Marxist model of economic development was replaced by “Applied Economy” funded by Junior Achievement.

For the first time *elective subjects* were introduced in the curriculum at the Ministerial decision No 5, of 24 February (Mësuesi 1996, No. 9). The *Elective Subjects Committee* was set up at the MoE, to decide and approve the subjects to be introduced in the first grade of senior secondary school. Initially proposals were to come from the Ministerial Secondary Education Department based on the opinion of pupils and parents. The advisory boards in the Elementary and Secondary Education Department in the MoE first discussed the options, while final decisions were taken by the *Elective Subjects Committee*.

The new curricula brought about changes in textbooks. The MoE attempted to have most of the textbooks rewritten, but there was no money for the revision, nor paper to print them on. Consequently only a small number of the new textbooks were published. The MoE ordered the Textbook Publishing House (TPH) to send photocopied versions of the first pages of the textbooks to the LEDs so that they could then photocopy and then distribute them to all teachers in the district until the textbooks would be published. The lack of photocopying machines at local level made this almost impossible and many teachers copied them by hand.

In this difficult situation, several educators suggested having *alternative textbooks*. Although this initiative demonstrated a clear step towards market economy and freedom of choice, it was not supported by educational authorities and foreign donors for several reasons. First it was judged to be premature, as the emergency situation in schools was a priority and at the same time, it was considered that teachers did not have the appropriate knowledge and skills to make informed choices in terms of which book to use. So this initiative did not materialize.

In the context of changing classroom practices in Albanian schools by introducing innovative approaches and models, a number of foreign NGOs were involved. For instance, the existing network of pre-school institutions was strengthened and new *pilot models* were established such as Head Start, Regio Emilia and Montessori. The *Head Start* project (also called Step by Step, an American model

funded by the Soros Foundation) was implemented in several districts. UNICEF introduced the *Reggio Emilia* model, while the University of the Nations in Germany applied the *Montessori* model. Other Italian, Swiss, British and Danish experiences were implemented in several other districts. Even though there was no common strategy for pre-school education, these pilot projects introduced a completely new approach in pre-school education, which focused on individualized learning, games and parent participation. The two models that later became widespread were the *Headstart* and *Reggio Emilia*. These models have been implemented largely in main towns. However, in rural areas their application has been almost impossible due to lack of infrastructure.

At primary school level the new ABC textbook was used combining the analytical-synthetic and global methods. Teachers were trained and first graders were supplied with the new ABC textbook, despite the economic difficulties of the Ministry.

Importance was given to Foreign languages particularly English and French which replaced the teaching of Russian. The interest of the population to learn foreign languages was not only a reflection of the openness to the world but was also due to ambition to move into jobs in the west; as languages would be a communication bridge. Consequently, the need emerged for a radical change in the teaching of foreign languages. Special attention was placed on communication skills and intercultural learning. The first to offer support were the British Council, USIS (United States Information Service) and the French Alliance via teacher training, external training in France and teaching materials. The MoE even went further in 1994. It introduced English language in the first grade of elementary school in 23 towns affecting 11.000 pupils. However, the textbooks were not yet available so to fill this vacuum a content-based curriculum for young learners was rapidly developed to instruct teachers on what to do hour by hour and what sort of activities to use. Also a two-day training course was conducted for English teachers of the first graders, to familiarize them with child psychology and methodology.

The new political and educational context required a new legal framework. *Educational legislation* was drafted and approved by the Parliament: the *Higher Education Law* of 6 April 1994 and the *Pre-University Education Law*, of 21 June 1995. The Pre-University Education Law defined the structure of pre-university education as comprising of elementary education (grades 1-4), junior and senior secondary education, the rights and responsibilities of teachers, their freedom to use teaching methods at their own initiative and so on. The law also guaranteed the right of teachers for retraining and that the training centers would be established with the approval of the MoE.

According to the Pre-University Law education was to be secular, free of charge and compulsory up to grade eight, free from any ideological indoctrination and could take place both in public and private establishments (Mësuesi 1995, No. 26). It also specified the conditions under which private schools could be opened and the right of the MoE to inspect private schools, to make sure that standards were met. According to the decision of the MoE No. 654 of 29 November 1995 (Mësuesi 1996, No. 8) private schools, which had been opened between 1991-1993, were given a temporary permission to exercise their activity.

In-service training – the response to the changes in teachers' role

In the first year of post-communist Albania, 1992-1993 academic year, there were 5,081 pre-school teachers out of which 2,674 were teaching in villages. The number of elementary school teachers was 30,557 with more than half (21,131) in villages (Strategjia e Arsimit 2000). Many village schoolteachers lived in towns and had to commute everyday to the schools. Transportation was difficult and this affected their performance as many teachers arrived late for their classes. To improve this situation, on the decision of the MoE, No 103, of 12 March 1992 „On covering the travel expenses for educators working far from their homes“, travel expenses for teachers were either reimbursed or transport was organized by the government (Mësuesi 1992, No. 25).

The difficult situation inherited from the past and the small budget of the Ministry not only limited changes in the curriculum and teaching materials, but also affected teachers' salaries and motivation; this clearly had a negative impact on the quality of teaching. To maintain teachers' motivation the government revised the teachers' salary. The existing system did not encourage teachers to perform" (Mësuesi 1992, No. 14).

In 1992 the *Independent Syndicate of Teachers* put forward a „collective request“ to the MoE which asked for the improvement of working conditions of teachers. The request determined a teaching load of 20-24 hours per week for 8-year school teachers. The salary scale was based on teaching experience. Other benefits took into account the difficult working conditions. New appointments and dismissal procedures were put in place. However, teacher nominations remained largely to be based on personal acquaintances and political patronage.

Education reform could not be carried out without first reforming teachers. The first step of such reform was to change teachers' role. In the past teachers prepared citizens for a uniform society, the new political context charged them with a new role: to prepare the younger generation with the knowledge, skills and values of democratic citizenship. The changes in the mission of education and the consequent changes required in the teachers' role called for new training. This proved to be difficult as the majority of teachers retained old practices and attitudes. The transformation processes were also difficult because of shortage of qualified teachers. As a result teacher training became top priority of the new government.

The first step taken by the MoE was to change the structure of teacher training. The teacher training responsibility, formerly the responsibility of the *Kabinete Pedagogjike*, was now given to the LEDs, which assumed a double role: a) supervision of education and b) training of teachers at the local level. Two structures were established under the LED: *inspectors*, who were in charge of controlling the work of teachers, and the *advisory teachers* also called *formateurs*, whose role was to support the

professional development of teachers. There was a logic behind this. Albania had just broken with dictatorship and it was considered that a person different from the inspector should train teachers. In this way teachers had the freedom to discuss and express their views with their formateurs. To this end, the TTD in the PRI proposed to the MoE to establish a *system of formateurs* otherwise called *the cascade system*.

In the meantime at the recommendation of the PRI of 15 July 1992, No. Prot. 99, the *Pedagogic Cabinets* had launched the RIEDEA project. The word was a French acronym meaning *Intensive Training of Teachers of Albania*, supported by UNICEF Office in Albania. This one-year project focused on training teachers in a) applying the newly introduced textbooks and curricula, b) psychopedagogic training, c) training in teaching methods.

The project aimed at establishing a network of *local formateurs* (which was set up one year later). Teachers were also trained on the use of the A-94 MODEL, with special focus on how to teach heterogeneous groups, instructional planning and “teaching by objectives approach” referring to Bloom’s taxonomy. The latter was unknown to Albanian teachers until it was introduced by the American specialists who conducted these training courses.

The training programme also included information on Human Rights and the Convention On The Rights of Children. The first Human Rights project involved 19 schools, 3,500 teachers and 400 trainers. This project was carried out by the *Albanian Centre for Human Rights* with support from the Norwegian Foreign Ministry. The training was aimed at supporting teachers to improve their teaching skills. 48,000 teachers, in the then 26 districts of Albania took part in the training seminars which were organized and supervised by Pedagogic Cabinets (Muka, 1992). In addition, with the support of the Soros Foundation and World Health Organization, the Health Promoting Schools project started in several districts (Mësuesi, 19 June 1996, No. 24).

Teacher training seminars were organized by the so-called *didactic core groups* (bërthama metodike) on a regional or school basis. The *Subject Area Commissions* deliberated over the new curricula and textbooks, and recommended topics for future training seminars. While, the didactic core groups assessed qualification needs of teachers according to the new curricula and textbooks. Upon completion of the training course the *Pedagogic Cabinets* reported on the results of the training course to the TTD in the PRI.

The exodus of March 1991, in which many people left for other countries, and the population shift to urban areas to seek a better life in cities, affected the teaching profession. The arrival of NGOs and private businesses which offered competitive salaries caused large numbers of foreign language teachers, mainly English and French to leave the teaching profession. The void caused by their departure forced the authorities to hire or relocate unqualified teachers; this especially affected elementary schools. In secondary schools, the highest figure of unqualified teachers was recorded during the years 1992 and 1994 (INSTAT, Yearbook of education statistics, December 2000, p. 41). At the beginning of the academic year 1993-1994, Albania had 4,314 pre-school teachers, 33,224 eight-year schoolteachers and 7,309 secondary school teachers. Of all teachers working in the elementary schools, 73.5 % had a pedagogic education school diploma, 18.5% a higher education diploma and 8 % had secondary education diploma. In junior secondary level (grades 5-8) unqualified teachers constituted 22 % of Albanian and literature teachers, 43 % of the English teachers, 49 % of French teachers, 26 % of Russian teachers, 23 % of history and geography teachers, 25 % of mathematics and physics teachers and 19 % of biochemistry teachers did not have the proper qualifications (Study of the Ministry of Education, January 1994).

Under these circumstances, teacher training, became the priority of the government's agenda. As the shortage of English language teachers became very problematic, Russian teachers were retrained as English teachers through *fast track courses*. Following a study by a visiting expert from the British Council, it was recommended to use the Czech model for retraining. The two-year training course was

conducted every Saturday by the *English department* of the Foreign Languages Faculty. Upon completion teachers were certified to teach English in elementary school. The training started with great enthusiasm, but did not attain its main objective of expanding the number of English teachers as many participants only attended the course to learn the language for other motives. Consequently, the problem remained unsolved.

As English fluency provided more job opportunities, many teachers of other subjects started to learn English only to leave the teaching profession for other jobs, thus increasing the number of unqualified teachers in the other subject areas as well.

In 1992, to strengthen the support to the professional development of teachers, a proposal was made to set up *The National Centre of Pedagogic Documentation* (NCPD) and was modelled on the French system, which was adopted following the visit of a PRI representative to France. The NCPD was assumed to be under the auspices of the Council of Ministers or the MoE. The aim of the center was to provide teachers with training and didactic materials and conduct training courses. The centre was to provide teachers with pedagogic materials and training in order to support education reform. It would work closely with the Universities, LEDs, the PRI and individual schools (Mësuesi 1996, No 32). The NCPD would also have its branches in the other districts of the country.

It was hoped that the establishment of the NCPD would provide equal training opportunities for teachers in their professional upgrading and provide information for teachers who wanted to use the materials in the centre. It was planned that the centre could play a coordinating role for all NGOs and other bodies involved in teacher training and education reform initiatives, by first conducting a thorough analysis of the training needs of teachers in the country and defining and monitoring professional standards.

Although this was to be a crucial element of a real shift towards teachers taking responsibility for their own work and professional standing status, the proposal was not supported by the MoE. It can be argued that the establishment of a NPDC was rejected because it required a lot of financial resources, which at that time were not available. But at the same time there was not enough institutional support from the management of the PRI itself because of the tensions that existed within its leadership. The outcome of all this debate was the establishment of a resource centre with limited resources.

The training conducted until 1993 had involved relatively a few teachers who had been trained in national seminars with the support of foreign donors leaving a large number of teachers, particularly in rural areas, with no support at all. In Albanian classrooms teaching remained mainly “directive” or “frontal”, with the teacher at the center of activity and the teaching programme as the definite content. Lecture and learning by rote prevailed. There was still little attention to teaching methodologies that would encourage practical problem solving and pupil initiative.

The new mission of education and the new curriculum required a more effective form of training and qualification system in order for teachers to acquire the necessary knowledge and teaching skills. The MoE and PRI realized that to carry out their mission, teachers needed to have a much bigger support during the difficult transition process. This realization called for a complete review of teacher training.

The review first started with a study carried out by the TTD which included data on the number of teachers and a strategy for teacher training which recommended that a *cascade system* could be applied to teacher training. Following a proposal submitted to the MoE, at the decision Nr 13. dated 12.08. 1993 the Minister of Education, Xhezair Teliti announced that teacher training would take place through the *Network of Formateurs* (Mësuesi 1995, No. 18). They taught part time in order to have time for school visitations and classroom observations. In addition to teachers, school principals also needed to be trained in order to support teachers in their work. None of them was trained to be a school leader before and they were only familiar with the authoritarian model of school management.

The cascade form of the in-service training system through the network of formateurs was also used widely in other Eastern European countries. It consisted of a network of 1000 formateurs in 37 districts of Albania covering all subject areas. The task of the formateur was: a) to help teachers understand and apply the new curricula, b) to provide them with new pedagogic literature and new teaching methods, c) to be an example in applying new teaching strategies, and to educate teachers in the democratic style to be used in schools, d) to observe teachers during their teaching practice and find ways to help them with their task

The formateur structure began to operate in May 1993 with English and French formateurs. Formateurs were selected through interviews in which representatives of the British Council and United States Information Service (USIS) took part. In the meantime debates started as to which body should be involved in the training of teachers, the English and French teachers Associations or the TTD. The first option was not supported because teachers' associations were not yet strong enough to take over this responsibility. Also they were a new concept to Albania and as such could not be influential. So it was decided that teacher training be the responsibility of the TTD.

Formateurs were selected by the LEDs to cover all subject areas. Two methods were used to select them: a) competition and b) nomination based on set criteria as defined by the PRI. Formateurs taught part time and provided training to their colleagues in the respective districts through regional training seminars. They were required:

- to have a higher education diploma and five-year teaching experience in their own specialty;
- to have a good social and professional reputation and to have participated in training activities prior to their involvement;
- Secondary school formateurs were required to have a diploma from the Tirana University;

- Elementary school formateurs should have a higher education diploma and the formateurs of the art subject areas should have a diploma of the Artistic Lyceum or the Academy of Arts;
- Formateurs of school administration should be inspectors in the LED or high skilled school principals;
- Formateurs who were proficient in languages were preferred.

There were also formateurs for elementary school teachers and formateurs for school leadership. The number of formateurs was based on the ratio: 1 formateur for every 15-70 teachers. When there were more than two formateurs in the same subject area, the *formateur unit* was formed, in which they discussed training issues in a collegial way. All the local formateurs, experienced teachers and education specialists in each region formed the *Council of Formateurs*, which was a *consultative body* for the LED.

The secondary school formateurs taught half of the teaching load and did not have a class to monitor. The lessons were grouped in three or four-day blocks in order to allow them time for school visitations, to meet and help teachers. The formateurs of the elementary school (grades 1-4) were paid an additional 6 hours per week for their extra work. Formateurs for pre-schools were selected by the director of the kindergarten. They would teach 6 hours less in a week. While the formateurs for school principals were either school principals or inspectors in the LEDs. They did not have a reduction of working hours or were paid extra. The hours required by the formateurs to carry out their duties were transferred from the hours of the former *subject area commissions*, which had ceased to function on the inception of the *formateur structure*.

The professional development of formateurs was done through central seminars conducted by TTD or NGOs. While the LEDs organized one-year teacher training courses for teachers of all subjects. These training courses replaced the former “general and uniform part-time training courses. They took place during holiday seasons. LEDs organized training sessions to meet the specific training needs in the

district. In the first training sessions teachers were introduced to new teaching methods such as the global method, group work, problem solving, discussion and experimentation method, as well as games and role-play. These training seminars were finalized with a discussion with all the teachers participating in it and teachers were not required to go through an exam (Mësuesi, 1993, No. 33). Teachers were given a free hand to apply the new teaching methods. Foreign language teachers led in introducing new approaches due to the intensive support of the British Council, USIS and French Alliance.

Concurrent with these efforts, in 1994 the MoE at the decision No. 21, dated 29.12. 1994 started re-training courses with teachers of 20 years of teaching experience (Mësuesi 1995, No. 2), which was accompanied with a salary increase. At the end of the training teachers were tested by the inspector or the formateur of the respective subject area. This form of testing which also involved formateurs, compromised the system as their role was supposed to be that of an adviser.

However these training efforts brought about few changes in classroom practices. This was partly due to the quality of the training but also because of the centralized curricula and the lack of didactic materials which made the work of teachers rather difficult. In addition teachers were not getting sufficient support from their school principals. Rather, they were often a stumbling block because of their old fashioned mentality. On the other hand no initiative was taken by the LEDs to encourage teachers who were performing well. These issues were discussed in a meeting organized by the MoE with directors of the elementary and secondary education departments in the MoE, PRI, LEDs and school principals participating. A major concern was that foreign experiences were not made use of to the extent they should have been. Although a number of people were trained abroad little benefit resulted because of the lack in sharing information. Also, the need for teacher competencies and for more freedom for teachers in the teaching process were discussed. Also, some of the training forms were considered inappropriate (Mësuesi 1995, No. 29). For example the A-94 model was considered

as premature as there was lack of clarity about the model and many teachers applied it in the wrong way.

The government invested 240.000 USD for the cascade teacher training system. This was spread over a period of five years. Although MoE gave high priority to in-service training, re-training of a large numbers of teachers was a huge effort and required a lot of financial resources as well as a lot of specialist and donor support. Although a number of NGOs, active in Albania, supported teacher training, making use of the network of formateurs in many instances, the system turned out to be inefficient because as a World Bank report describes:

“it behaves like gossip, the message becoming increasingly distorted as it travels from person to person ... unless the training combines new knowledge with its guided and corrected application (for example in simulated classrooms), it will change teachers’ verbal repertoire but not their practice. Thus the retraining challenge will be to design curricula that help trainees transfer what they know into what they do and to design school or district-level mechanism that reinforce the new learning’

(Berryman, 1994, p. 64. in Moon, et al, 1995)

In addition, teachers coming from remote villages often could not attend the training sessions as they had to walk long distances. Some of the formateurs were not willing to support teachers in remote villages who really needed support. At the same time the lack of a policy to ensure the quality of the formateurs had led to a lot of subjectivity in their selection. There were formateurs who did not have the appropriate qualifications, consequently they could hardly offer teachers any help. Some of the formateurs were not even clear about their title; they called themselves “informateur” which compromised their role as the word had a pejorative meaning in the Albanian language. In communism an “informateur” was a person who spied on others and caused trouble for them. Big debate began in the press questioning their role. In the lower cycle of primary school, for instance, the issue of whether the formateur was really a helper and friend of teachers was raised. First, they were very busy and could not commit themselves to the task. Very few of them could speak languages, which made it

difficult for them to keep themselves abreast of the new developments in their speciality area through the reading of contemporary literature. The majority of formateurs lived in big towns and had difficulties in getting in maintaining contacts with village teachers. The big number of teachers the formateur had to support made their task unrealistic. It was evident that the structure was not functioning properly.

The Pre-university Education Law No 7952, dated 21.06.1995 defined rights and responsibilities of teachers and acknowledged the freedom of teachers to choose appropriate teaching methods (Mësuesi 1995, No 41). Although this freedom was important, the presence of untrained or half trained teachers reared in the old system and the realities of insufficient laboratories, textbooks and other teaching materials made the application of new approaches to teaching difficult. The majority of teachers came from rural areas where communication with the training centres was difficult thus limiting their access to information. Also a major problem that began to emerge was the reduction in teacher motivation due to low salaries; this tremendously affected the quality of teaching in schools. This problem was further aggravated as many teachers began to do second jobs to supplement their small salaries. This distracted them from teaching duties resulting in very little time being devoted to the preparation of their classes. In order to reverse this situation, the Council of Ministers, at the decision No. 537, dt. 26.09.1994 on the „Additional payment based on the basic salary of teachers and inspectors“ based teachers' salaries on their professional qualification. During January-February 1995 teachers with over 20 years of teaching experience were tested to get the first level of qualification. While teachers with ten and five years of teaching experience were tested to acquire the second and third level of qualification respectively (Arsimi në Shqipëri, Dosje Kombëtare, 1997). Also the guideline of the MoE No. 2, dt. 14.06.1995 on “Second and third level retraining for teachers in pre-university education” involved teachers over ten years of teaching experience and teachers over five years teaching experience who had graduated in teacher education faculties and secondary schools and who worked in the education field (Mësuesi 1995, No. 25). Before taking part in the training, teachers were required to submit a

request to the LED. The LED organized the training, based on the recommendations of PRI, which comprised general didactics, subject area knowledge and human rights education.

To support the existing teacher training system, to make it efficient and to provide equal opportunities for teachers in all parts of the country, the Albania Education Development Project (AEDP) run by the Soros Foundation, decided to start a pilot distant education programme called, KUALIDA, an acronym of the Albanian words *Distant Training of Teachers* (**K**ualifikimi në **D**istancë i **A**rsimtarëve). The word sounded close to the Albanian word “qualite” i.e. *quality*, which was eventually what the programme aimed for.

This effort was first preceded by a feasibility study carried out by the Open University staff in UK in January 1995. The expert team soon became aware that Albanian educators recognized the need to implement European standards and that the ODLT (**O**pen and **D**istant **L**earning and **T**eaching) system and materials would provide the means to quickly establish new systems of infrastructure and support and create a tangible and public manifestation of new and improved standards (Moon & Leach, 1995). Four subject areas were targeted: English, French, History and Geography. Teachers in these subject areas had received virtually no in-service support and were therefore considered a high priority by educational leaders and teachers.

However, from the very beginning, the project met with resistance from some individuals in key educational institutions. The leadership of the PRI feared that this would undermine the existing structure of formateurs that was under their control. To reduce the tension and calm down the stakeholders, an article was written in the *Teacher's Newsletter*, organ of the MoE, describing the advantages of the ODLT approach and explaining that this new approach did not aim to circumvent the existing structures, on the contrary, it was aimed at supporting and strengthening them. However this effort had no effect and resulted in the PRI not participating in the project at the outset, rather, neither the director nor the head of the TTD took part in the televised discussion organized by the National TV

Station or in the National Seminar on ODLT. In contrast, specialists from the PRI, although few in number and under a lot of pressure, participated in the seminar without the permission of their superiors. However, the lack of support from the PRI was counterbalanced by the interest on the part of regional Universities, the LEDs of Shkodër, Elbasan, Djirokastra and Tepelenë, and teachers in the districts. They fully supported this initiative not only through their participation in the workshops but also in the production of materials and in project implementation. The choice of selection of regions with a University was made taking into account that rural communities could also find a significant role for diverse regional and local elements.

Regardless of the animosity, open-learning materials were developed to support this programme. Four study texts were produced, one for each subject area and three television programmes (45 minutes duration) to be transmitted twice on national television, which combined both film and video sequence, capable of replay in regional centres. The pilot programme focused on three areas where a university (formerly called Higher Pedagogic Institute) existed: the town area of Elbasan, where high levels of motivation were already in evidence and two contrasting rural regions. 815 teachers in four subject areas, English, French, History and Geography, from four districts were involved in the pilot project. This was the first initiative, which took into account regional needs and placed responsibility on the local educational institutions. In concrete terms this was the first effort to bring together pre-service and in-service teacher education. The PRI had its role as a critical reader in the development of the project providing amongst other things on going course evaluation.

The open learning materials were written by a team comprising lecturers from the regional universities of Elbasan, Shkodër, and Djirokastra and subject area specialist classroom teachers from three pilot districts. The involvement of teachers in the production process was a key element, ensuring authenticity as well as providing a broad legitimizing process for teachers. This was also reflected in television programmes, which were filmed in real classrooms in a variety of contexts in the three pilot regions. Teachers were provided with written materials in the respective subject areas and TV

programmes were aired on national television, at set times to ensure that the new ideas and the key educational issues would have a wider audience. The generic course framework provided a template against which future materials in different subjects and for different age ranges could be designed. In the next stage, civics was the new subject area based on the assumption that it would benefit not only teachers but the community at large. Clear learning outcomes were set for teachers against which evaluation follow-up was planned.

Regardless of the tension and the difficulty in distributing the written materials, the project was received well by the education community because some changes and improvement in classroom practice became obvious. But while training improved teachers' teaching skills and introduced new approaches in the Albanian classrooms, school principals were not equally informed. In some instances there were tensions between teachers and school principals. This caused the need to address the training of school principals in new approaches to school management and in new teaching approaches to create a more democratic atmosphere in Albanian classrooms and in schools overall. The newly established democratic system also called for the headmasters to play the role of the school administrator. They could no longer be authoritarian and impose their will on teachers but rather they needed to cooperate to achieve targets. In order to do this they first needed to be familiar with democratic styles of school leadership and management of funds. Projects for the training of school administrators began, in which school principals were trained in the application of new management styles. However, in order for them to apply their new knowledge, there was need to have several mechanisms in place such as the financial autonomy of school, independence in hiring educational staff and active involvement of parents. This was the first step towards the decentralization of schools, which at that time could not be applied because the required legislation had not been enacted. However, this important initiative first began by introducing school boards as a mechanism which involved parents in educational issues moving, away from the top down approach of management.

These initiatives came to a halt in the spring of 1997. Albania was overwhelmed by chaos due to the collapse of the get-rich-quick-schemes in which people lost their savings. This aroused anger among the people and they revolted against the democratic government ultimately leading to the collapse of the democratic state and the entire country in chaos. The aggression demonstrated in the first years of democracy, had reappeared. Schools were again attacked as a form of revenge against the government as it was held responsible for the political, economic and socially difficult situation in the country. The only schools that were not attacked were the Soros Foundation schools where the communities had been trained and had become aware of the concept that „the school was theirs“. According to the report of the Minister of Education and Science (MoES – the new name for the Ministry of Education), Et‘hem Ruka, in the parliament in 1997, the damage was estimated at 5 million dollars; 229 schools were damaged and needed immediate renovation.

To stabilize the disruption to education the MoES initiated an emergency response. All categories of school were closed. They were re-opened at the MoES' decision "On restarting school following the emergency situation". However, the application of this order of the Ministry was flexible, depending on the local circumstances and the tranquility in the region. School time was reduced. The MoES, PRI, LEDs, UNICEF and the AEDP launched a special programme called "TV Shkolla" (Television for Schools). The programme aimed at supporting primarily pupils in elementary education, pupils in the 8th grade (junior secondary school) and 4th grade in senior secondary school, who were to have their final exams at the end of the school year. Everyday, the National TV station aired education programmes 4 hours a day, a total of 100 lessons which were prepared by teachers from Tirana schools who appeared on TV and conducted lessons in a "studio" classroom and pupils.

The instability in the country meant that teachers received salaries after three or four months. In several regions Banks had been looted and legal transfer of money was almost impossible. Money was sent to districts by resorting to other ways because the roads were patrolled by gangs. This situation had serious implications for the quality of the work of teachers and their interest in the teaching profession.

Many of them left for urban areas. As a result the number of unqualified teachers in the 8-year education increased reaching to 6,408 out of 33,280 elementary school teachers and in secondary education 6%. In the capital city Tirana the number of unemployed teachers increased to 4000.

The May 1997 elections following the civil unrest, brought the Socialist Party in power. Before too long it formed its government. The MoES had two new vice ministers affiliated with the Socialist Party. The Higher Education Ministry that was formed in 1996 dissolved and came as a separate department in the MoES. The formerly established Higher Education Policy Department was changed into the Education Policy Department to deal with overall educational issues (Mësuesi, 1998 No 1).

In his panoramic view in the parliament Minister Ruka described the situation as critical as the poor physical situation in schools and lack of textbooks made it very difficult for the teaching process to be carried out in a normal way. Therefore, with the help of donors, MoES began efforts to rehabilitate the damaged schools and asked to collect the books in order to use them for the following school year.

To stop teachers from mountainous areas coming to the urban areas the Minister of education recommended that people could move to other areas provided they had a job. This however was not effective. Many people moved to urban areas while it was difficult to find a job. This led to two issues: first, corruption, as people had to pay for a teaching post and secondly the big shortage of teachers in remote mountainous regions. As the need for qualified teachers increased and the number of students graduating teacher education faculties in universities was insufficient, the MoES decided to re-open the pedagogic schools. So, in 1998 pedagogic schools were re-opened in the cities of Dibër and Djirokastra. One year later, another pedagogic school was opened in Berat. At the moment there are four pedagogic schools located in the districts of Berat, Peshkopi, Elbasan and Djirokastra. During the 1997-1998 academic year the number of students studying in pedagogic schools to become elementary school teachers was 219. While the number of students in the Greek minority pedagogic school

dropped again to 80 because the majority of the minority population left for Greece (Strategjia afatmesme e arsimit, 2000, p.53).

Teacher training had become subject to criticism on several occasions and the structure of formateurs had proved to be inefficient. So at the recommendation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the MoES, in 1998 quite abruptly abolished the structure of formateurs and charged the inspectors in the LEDs with the responsibility for teacher training. Inspectors in each district were supposed to develop their own training programme with the advice of the PRI. While at first sight it looked a progressive step, it occurred without the LEDs having a clue about how the deregulation process would take place. This development led to chaos in teacher training because the LEDs did not always have qualified staff to take over this new responsibility. Most inspectors were not appointed based on meritocracy but on their political affiliations. At the same time no study was conducted in terms of regional needs and how to address them.

However, the collapse of the formateur structure did not come as a surprise taking into account some hints, which signaled this change. For instance the one-year teacher-training programme of PRI was and there was only some small-scale training efforts supported by donors. During 1997-1998 teacher training received little attention in the guidelines of the MoES. However, the KUALIDA project continued its second stage. Initially the plan was to work on Albanian language and mathematics. Instead work on the previously four subject areas continued on explaining and questioning. This created two problems: first, teachers of other subjects were left out of attention and secondly dealing with only one topic throughout the academic year decreased their interest in the training.

The recent surveys show that teachers are insufficiently familiar with the new education theories and practices (Basha, 2000, p. 55) that will enable them to carry out teaching according to standards. The big number of unqualified teachers is still a burning issue. The recent, statistics of the Ministry of Education and Science, show that the number of unqualified teachers in all subject areas amounts to 32

% on an average, the figure being much higher in remote rural areas. Two groups have been identified that need imperative support: young teachers and teachers with less than 5 years of teaching experience and training seminars have been conducted to support these categories.

The December 2001 round table organized by the MoES on “Teacher Training meeting new challenges”, with representatives from the Control and Training Sectors in the LEDs, Teacher Education Faculty members, school teachers, specialists from the MoES and PRI pointed out that the teacher training system had suffered the most in the last decade and that it had been mostly NGOs that had assisted in introducing new knowledge and methodologies. PRI was criticized that during the last four years it had mostly been engaged in “big science” and that the TTD had been totally ignored thus leaving teacher training entirely with the LEDs, with the management of schools or with universities which have been willing to assist. The setting up of a National Teacher Training Centre and a Special Commission to explore how to establish an up-to-date training system to fit the country’s need by involving certified people such as PRI specialists and university teachers to conduct teacher training was seen as a solution (Mësuesi, 2001 No. 41).

An OECD study carried out in 2002 appreciated the contribution of foreign NGOs and foundations in teacher training but argue that projects are scattered, poorly linked and solely depend on donor preferences. At the moment there is no strategy for integrating those efforts into mainstream in-service training. While NGOs have provided support to teacher training, governmental support had been scarce thus calling for the institutionalization of teacher training.

The teachers

The economic and social development of Albania depends on well-educated and trained human resources, and this can be achieved through an effective education system, which has teachers and school principals who have received proper initial training and continue to have in-service training to keep them up to date. However, the economic situation has had a negative impact on the education

system through the decline of enrolment in pre-university education, discrepancies in rural/urban development, migration of rural population to urban areas, low status of teachers, poor teaching environment and poverty. The mid- term strategy of the MoES placed special emphasis on the normalization of the education system, increasing efficiency and raising the quality of teaching and learning. Teachers and school principals have an important role to play in this regard through various responsibilities encompassing management and control in school, cooperation with the Local Government, LED, Parent Community, Student Parliament, school based training and so on.

In the last decade teachers have been free to apply the teaching methods they find most useful in their own teaching context. The new curricula allow teachers a certain degree of professional freedom. 10-20% of the hours in the curriculum can be used at teacher's discretion (Mësuesi, 2001, No. 21). In schools where there are three to four teachers of the same subject area there is opportunity for sharing of ideas and approaches, the situation being difficult in schools with a small staff.

There are major differences in the quality of education provision between big and small cities, between rural and urban areas, between villages, which are close and those far from the towns. The problem is due to the smaller percentage of teachers in rural areas with higher education than in urban areas, especially in the elementary and junior secondary education level; 44% versus 70% in 1998. As an incentive to work in rural areas the government provides Albanian teachers with a bonus of up to 30% (The Albanian Response to the Millenium development goals, 2002, p. 18). However, villages with no road access have great difficulty attracting qualified teachers, as they may have to walk up to two miles in hard terrain to reach the school. Many teachers in rural and remote village schools lack both adequate subject matter knowledge and teaching skills. Also, if the teacher is under-qualified and the school principle politically appointed and consequently has low motivation and no power, the working environment of the school provides no support to teachers who might want to apply innovative approaches.

The teaching load of teachers, as defined by the MoES vary according to school levels: pre-school teachers, 36 hours teaching per week (45 minutes per period); elementary school teachers teaches 23-27 hours a week; junior secondary school teachers 20-24 hours a week, and a senior secondary school teacher has 20 hours a week.

Currently, there are 38,678 teachers (see fig. 12) in Albania out of which 3% are unqualified. Several factors have brought about this problem:

Firstly, teachers' salaries are far too low. They are below the already low average public sector wage and cannot even cover normal living expenses. For instance, a teacher with 25 years of experience earns about US\$ 130 a month, while a novice teacher would make 100 US\$ a month. Teachers' salaries tend to be lower than those of many other professions. They come 13th in the salary scale of public sector workers. Years of service count for salary payment; fully qualified teachers get a 2% increase in salary annually, and unqualified teachers get 1% annual increase. Salaries take no account of whether a teacher is negligent or is committed. The system does not differentiate pay for school directors dependent upon responsibility and work load; the director of a small school with under 50 pupils, mainly to be found in villages and the director of a school with 900 (or more) and two shifts are paid the same salary.

Low salaries have caused a number of qualified teachers to leave the education system and seek employment elsewhere. Those who leave the public education sector either start businesses or take a teaching post in private schools and some of them immigrate to other countries. Many of those who stay in the system can hardly make a living and take second or third jobs selling various products or offer private tutoring – even to pupils in their own class, which is a clear conflict of interest. The MoES prohibits this practice but exerts little control over it. The lack of income and status damage their motivation. Many teachers are minimizing the time they take to prepare lesson plans, improve curricula and explain class materials to students. This phenomenon has compromised the system and has ruined public image of teachers.

Secondly, the working conditions are very difficult. Migration to the towns and cities has strained the urban educational infrastructure. Internal migration from the north and south to the centre and coast of the country has caused the formation of crowded classes. Larger urban areas also are facing a shortage of schools. The average number of pupils per class in urban areas is 45-50. While in rural areas the number of pupils is very small. In some instances there are three to four pupils in a class.

The physical deterioration of schools facilities is another serious issue. Despite efforts made for the rehabilitation, most buildings are still in a poor state, with lack of lighting and heating being commonplace. Most of the school buildings, especially in rural areas, are in a bad condition, with broken windows, falling walls, leaking taps and dripping toilets.

Lack of instructional materials, textbooks and equipment force teachers to do their work under pressure and with difficulty. Also bad roads, especially in rural areas, and lack of public transportation make teachers' commuting to school very difficult.

Thirdly, the lack of professionalism in the management of teachers is another significant factor. The sole responsibility for appointing teachers lies with the LEDs. The LED submits the figure required for the coming year's salary expenses to the MoES. The local government has the power to influence either the allocation of funds for teaching purposes or the appointment of teachers. Teacher selection is carried out by a three-member committee. When there is more than one candidate for a position, the criteria used are: a) level of education of the candidate, b) number of years in teaching in relevant type of school and c) non-professional factors. However, this has not been applied for two reasons: a) people who are in these committees are first politically appointed and not qualified to do this job. Consequently, there is a lot of subjectivity; b) in most instances this procedure is not practiced because of the big number of unqualified teachers. Particularly, in rural areas, the selection committee tries to

persuade the applicant to take the position. While new teachers interested in a teaching position need to register their names on a waiting list at the LED.

The new hiring procedure has been introduced which was applied in Tirana. Teaching staff in schools is hired through *dossier* and *competition*. In the first phase of selection a committee made up of specialists from the MoES, LED, Ministry of Labour and the Prefecture looks at the dossier of each applicant and shortlists the people. In the second phase a committee consisting of staff of LED and the Control and Training Sector, inspectors, the head of the Personnel, representatives from MoES and the Municipality conduct interviews and make final selection.

The present system which appoints teachers *me vendim* (officially i.e. a permanent teaching position though not necessarily from year to year), while others on a contractual basis i.e. a temporary appointment with a low pay makes teachers feel insecure about their job; hence many teachers have moved away from countryside. Teachers who do not have the requisite qualifications are usually hired on a three to six month basis.

Fourthly, the legal framework does not allow school principals to remunerate teachers in relation to their performance. In addition to school principals, teachers are also inspected by inspectors from the LEDs. They have no say on this matter.

School principals are, for the most part, merely links in an administrative chain. Schools still do not enjoy the autonomy they need to take more responsibility in school matters. There is a greater community involvement in the problems of school, though this depends a lot on the local community. With regard to training, although school principals have school based training responsibilities, in most instances they do not have the knowledge and skills to perform this duty.

The low economic status and lack of incentives have led to a lot of dissatisfaction within the teaching profession. Consequently, students who graduate from teacher education faculties with high results, in most instances do not want to go into the teaching profession. The number of teachers who retire is greater than the number of teachers going into the teaching profession though the MoES data shows that it is difficult to find a post in the teaching profession, particularly in the urban areas, the most problematic being the capital city. The situation has changed in the recent years for two reasons: less job opportunities in the business sector and more job opportunities in the teaching profession.

Reform efforts in Initial Teacher Education

The year 1991 found Albania with one university based in Tirana and four Regional Higher Institutes based in Shkoder, Elbasan, Djirokastra and Korcha. The latter was an Agricultural Institute while the other three Higher Pedagogic Institutes, which trained junior secondary school teachers. While the University of Tirana prepared senior secondary school teachers. Elementary and pre-school teachers were trained in pedagogic schools. In 1991, at the decision of the Council of Ministers No. 167 dated 28.05.1991 and No. 414, dated 12.11.1991, the MoE closed the pedagogic schools and brought the training of elementary school teachers within the higher education institutions. In 1991, teacher education was entirely incorporated inside the university and the former Higher Pedagogic Institutes of Shkodër, Elbasan and Djirokastra, which assumed the status of universities. The only pedagogic schools that survived were the pedagogic school of Elbasan and the pedagogic school serving the *Greek minority* in Djirokastra.

With the opening of the branch for the preparation of elementary school teachers in the Regional Pedagogic Universities, attendance of pupils in pedagogic schools decreased. In the 1993-1994 academic year attendance of pupils in the pre-school branch was 283 pupils versus 644 in 1990-1991, 548 pupils in the branch for elementary teachers versus 1.520 in 1990-1991. While the number of pupils attending the pedagogic school for Greek minority reached 114 compared to 86 in 1990-1991 academic year (Strategjia afatmesme e arsimit, 2000, p.53).

The former Agricultural Institute of Korcha in 1992 became a University with initially the elementary teacher preparation faculty. Two years later, in 1994 another university was opened in Vlorë, south of Albania, consisting of two teacher education faculties: English language and elementary school. Thus the number of universities increased to eleven and the number of universities with teacher education faculties to seven (see fig 11). These actions were taken without being based on any preliminary study but were mandated by people with power in the MoE.

In 1992 the Faculty of Social Worker was opened in Tirana and in 1993 the pedagogy and psychology department, the philosophy and sociology department and the Faculty of Social worker merged and formed the Faculty of Social Sciences. Currently the pedagogy and psychology department in this faculty produces specialists to cover the professional subjects in other teacher education faculties in the Tirana University.

Significant changes were also made to the curricula. They were purged of any ideological information, a process that had in fact started in 1991. The political subjects that were removed created a vacuum that needed to be filled, which immediately led to the revision of the existing teacher education curricula and the introduction of new subjects. In most cases these changes happened not only because of the objectively ascertained needs but because of the preferences of people in power and availability of staff. The introduction of new subjects brought about the need for new teaching staff and the training of university staff in western universities through various programmes such as TEMPUS, UNESCO, Fulbright programme and so on. Visits to higher education institutions in Europe, the contacts with counterparts in other countries and familiarization with other models opened up new horizons to Albanian educators which had an impact on the diversity and revision of curricula.

For the first time admission to the university was done through a *konkurs* (concours). This new approach was introduced by Albanian specialists who had studied in France. An entry exam was organized and the system of *one hundred-point scale* was applied for the selection.

The strategy and policy of higher education to meet the country's needs and requirements of the market economy was defined once the *Higher Education Law* No. 7810 "On higher education in the Republic of Albania", was approved in parliament in April 1994. The structure in Universities consisted of three levels: *departments*, *faculty boards* and the *senate* (Mësuesi 1995, No. 19). Universities had their own statutes and internal disciplinary code. This allowed universities to create new structures. As a result new departments and sections were established and new faculties were opened. For instance in Shkodër University the English branch was opened, while the Faculty of philosophy and sociology was opened in Tirana University. New branches such as the English, German and pre-school branches were opened in Elbasan University. An English branch was also opened in Djirokastra University as well as Greek language and literature branches. Each of them developed their own curricula taking into account not only the knowledge necessary for students but also based on the human resources available.

A *National Higher Education Committee* (NHEC) was set up in the MoE. It had the authority to implement reform within the framework of higher education.

Until 1995, pre-school teachers in Albania were trained in pedagogic schools. The pedagogic school diploma was also valid to teach in elementary schools. In the academic year 1994-1995 the MoE decided to bring the preparation of pre-school teachers under universities. The first pre-school branches were opened in the universities of Korcha and Elbasan. Two years later pre-school branches were also opened in the university of Shkodra and Gjirokastra (Arsimi në Shqipëri, Dosje Kombëtare, 1997). In 1996 94 % of kindergarten teachers had pedagogic school education and only 1.6 % higher education. (Të dhëna për arsimin 8 vjeçar, 1995-1996, MA, Gusht 1996).

Following the new institutional arrangements pre-school and elementary school teachers and junior secondary school teachers were trained in the regional universities and senior secondary school teachers were prepared in Tirana university. While teachers for vocational schools were trained in the Polytechnic University, Agricultural University of Tirana and the Agricultural Faculty in the

University of Korcha. Upon completion of their studies graduates started teaching without attending any *complementary course* on teaching skills. As national standards for teachers were not yet in place, each university had its own criteria in issuing diplomas.

Until 1995 teacher education faculties trained only teachers. They did not train specialists of pedagogy. Nor did they train special education teachers at a time when pupils with special needs in Albania constituted 15 % of the overall number of children. These included children with learning disabilities or physically handicapped (Mësuesi 1995, No. 43). Teachers who taught in special needs schools had no training. At the same time, the new management styles required school leaders with knowledge and skills in order to run the schools in a democracy. The teacher education faculties did not have the expertise to run courses in education administration.

The transformation processes were linked and dependent on teachers, which means that education could not be transformed without first transforming the teacher preparation institutions. On the initiative of the PRI in January 1995, a round table on the “Preparation of future teachers” was organized. In this meeting participated representatives from the MoE, PRI, teachers from the teacher preparation faculties in all universities and NGOs active in the field of teacher education. The main topics on the agenda were “Do Albanian teachers get contemporary knowledge? Are they trained properly to meet the new challenges in the new changing context?”

The meeting highlighted concerns regarding the quality of teacher education. Participants argued that the existing curricula paid more attention to the academic preparation of teachers and less to teaching and practical skills. They explained this with the fact that in some faculties there was ambiguity in the mission statement of universities. This was particularly true for the Tirana University. While it was clear which faculties would train elementary school teachers, it was not clear which of the faculties would train junior secondary school teachers. Teachers who graduated from these universities taught in both levels of secondary education. Another problem was the small number of hours of professional

subjects in the curriculum. This however varied from university to university. For instance, in the Elbasan University they occupied 42% of the overall elementary school teacher education curriculum and 17-20% in the senior elementary teacher education curriculum, a fact, which may be explained with the Normal school tradition. While in Tirana University it was only 10%.

Anomalies were also observed in pedagogic practice. Pedagogic practice consisted of *passive pedagogic practice* in which students mainly observed classes conducted by an experienced teacher throughout the academic year; and *active pedagogic practice*, in which the student teachers taught classes under the supervision of the experienced teacher and his tutor. However, *pedagogic practice* in all universities was considered to be insufficient. In some universities it was one month long, in some others more or less than a month. In addition, the quality of support provided by university teachers was considered to be irrelevant to the needs of students. Often student teachers were not accompanied to the *ushtrimore schools* by their tutors. On the other hand the *ushtrimore schools* were few in number and there were too many students in one school. The big number of pupils in one class made it more difficult for the student teacher to get the necessary support from his tutor and mentor.

The need was also expressed for a clear definition of the mission of higher education institutions, i.e. which institution would train what. It was also argued that young teachers could receive a better professional preparation if they were trained in narrow specific disciplines, as this could better enrich their knowledge for the teaching profession. In this context the issue of revising subject area methodologies was raised. This however presented some difficulty, as contemporary literature was insufficient.

Recommendations were made to consider re-training of teachers a priority. The question was whether some partial remedies would help or whether there was need for radical changes (Mësuesi, 1995, No. 5). The debate was carried further that the only remedy for this situation was the setting up of a *Faculty*

of Education (i.e. a faculty where students can continue their studies to become teachers upon finishing their bachelor degree in a certain specialty area).

However, the round table did not come up with any concrete steps but it did reveal that teacher educators shared a common view: that the political and economic changes as well as the social structure of the Albanian society called for the restructuring of teacher education.

At the end of 1995 a TEMPUS funded project for the restructuring of teacher training in Albania brought together teacher education faculties of universities of Elbasan, Korcha, Djirokastra, Shkodër and Tirana, the Higher Institute of Physical Education and Culture and PRI to undertake a feasibility study in restructuring teacher education. This initiative was carried out under the leadership of the MoE and the University of the West of England (UWE) in UK, which then lead to submission of a proposal for a three Structural Joint European Partnership (SJEP 3) to Tempus for a JEP, UWE and other European universities. The feasibility study comprised fact-finding visits by the UWE staff in January 1995, development of a needs analysis, a visit of ten Albanian educators from the institutions involved in the project to UWE and British teacher training institutions by the end of that same year. Each of the universities identified concerns and needs, which were finally summarized and presented in the January 5th 1996 national seminar on "The restructuring of the teacher preparation system" where several concerns were raised about the big number of unqualified teachers, the need for an appropriate way of assigning teachers to their posts by taking into account the demographic changes, the upgrading of teachers' knowledge of the subject area and on pedagogic knowledge and the need to support teachers with materials on an ongoing basis prepared by local and foreign specialists (Mësuesi, 1996, No. 2).

The overall objective of the structural JEP project was:

„ To restructure the departments of elementary, lower-upper, and secondary teacher training in every Albanian university to prepare student teachers for all levels of the school system“

Within this overall objective the project aims were

- to restructure courses for pre-service and in-service teacher training, and creation of a national system for accreditation of student teachers and for „training of trainers“,
- to develop „partnership“ links with schools which would be the training placement providers for student teachers;
- to develop educational science within every Albanian University;
- to train Albanian University staff in a range of teaching methods, in order to enable them to develop their own methods that would better suit the Albanian context, and to increase the impact on the process of teaching and learning;
- to develop curricula across a range of subject areas

(The Restructuring of Teacher Training in Albania, 1996, p. 28).

Along with the effort for the restructuring of teacher education, another effort was initiated which aimed at changing universities into regional Media Centers supported by AEDP, Soros. The PRI was also part of the network. The aim was manifold. First to contribute to the decentralization of the teacher training system and address various training needs of specific regions. At the same time its aim was to give some independence to regional universities and build bridges between pre-service and in-service. Until that time there was hardly any cooperation between the two. Tensions had emerged between the regional universities and the LEDs. The latter were against involvement of universities in teacher training as they thought it was their responsibility. In fact this effort aimed at involving the regional universities in in-service training at the local level as the TTD was far too small to provide training for teachers in the 37 districts of the country.

Two to three representatives from each university and PRI took part in this initiative. Part of the training was conducted in Tirana with expertise from the Media Centre in Puglia and the other part in Bari. The problem was that this institution did not deal with educational matters but offered training

and resources for business. Consequently, the people who were trained did not receive the necessary knowledge to start and manage a training centre for educational purposes. Upon completion of the training media centres were established. Initially their aim was not only to function as training centres but also to produce instructional technology. But they never managed to offer services as originally planned because of unequal investments in universities, insufficient commitment on the part of the people involved and the various degree of support by the authorities of the institutions involved.

To support the restructuring process of teacher education fifteen teacher educators from five universities were involved in a programme called “Advanced Certificate in Teaching” at *Pace* University in New York. This was a joint effort between the MoE, AEDP and *Pace* University. The project aimed at preparing a network of experts who would function as a critical mass and take the lead in reforming teacher education. Participants in the course would prepare the new pre-service curricula in the light of the new knowledge gained in the training course. It was also hoped that this training would also raise the status and the quality of the preparation of teachers. The course comprised training in assessment, foundations of education, learning and development, language and meaning, methodology, and independent study, out of which five were conducted in Tirana and one at *Pace* University.

The project failed to have the expected impact on the curricula of teacher education faculties because some of the people who were involved either changed jobs or left the country for good. Also the MoE did not make use of the people who were trained. Consequently, the team disintegrated. However, there was only some piecemeal impact through some small individual initiatives.

Although these initiatives were meant to compliment each other and create some synergy, this never happened. This was partly because they were very different in nature, but also because of the rivalry among the involved organizations.

The issue for establishing a *Faculty of Education* that was raised in the round table had remained open. A project prepared by a group of specialists from the PRI and the Faculty of Social Sciences (Pedagogy Department) was submitted to AEDP, Soros Foundation requesting the opening of a *Faculty of Education* to train educators upon completion of studies in a certain specialty area. The project consisted of three branches:

- the *Educational Sciences* branch, a four-year course to train education specialists and consultants;
- the *Education Management and administration* branch, a one-year course to be attended by education specialists and consultants with three to five years of teaching experience who would be trained as education inspectors and school principals, and
- the *Teaching* branch, which consisted of four departments:
 - a. Department of Educational Policy and Education Administration;
 - b. Department of Educational Psychology;
 - c. Department of Educational Programming and Teaching, and
 - d. Assessment and Research Department.

Graduates who had finished three to four years university studies in one specialty area would attend their studies to become elementary/secondary school teachers and special education teachers. It would also offer postgraduate courses in educational sciences, pedagogic counseling, education management and administration as well as education technology. The Faculty of Education would issue university diplomas, post university diplomas and certificates, and teaching licenses. Its partners would be PRI, the Centre for Higher Education for all, the Teacher Training Centre, the National Assessment Centre, the Resource and Education Documentation Centre and the Centre for Pedagogic Counseling that would be set up.

The project however was not supported because: *firstly*, educators including specialists in the Ministry of Education did not understand its importance; *secondly*, it required a lot of financial support and by

the time the issue was raised the MoE had other priorities; *thirdly*, no commitment was demonstrated on the part of foreign donors to support it with funding; *fourthly*, Universities, particularly the regional universities whose main responsibility was to train teachers felt threatened by this initiative by the prospect of losing their students; *fifthly*, the low status of the teaching profession was undoubtedly another contributing factor to the lack of support, as few university students had an interest to go into the teaching profession.

All these initiatives were stopped during the 1997 upheaval. Universities became also the target of vandalism. In higher education the damage was 2 million dollars. In Elbasan University the damage of the electronic equipment was 200-250 thousand dollars. About 10 million dollars were needed to remedy the situation in universities. The 360.000 dollars invested on higher education institutions could suffice for only 15% of the needs.

After some sort of normality was established, projects for the restructuring of teacher education resumed. The first two efforts were the Partnership project and the Teaching Methods one. The main agenda of the *Partnership Project* was to develop inter institutional links and cooperation between universities, schoolteachers and LEDs. Its main aims were to elaborate and improve the organizational structures, between each university and four local schools principally based on the *British experience*. To this end regional and local workshops were organized and teacher-training materials were produced for use in classrooms. The focus was on the primary schools in the districts of Shkodër, Elbasan, Djirokastër and Korcha but also on the elementary and secondary schools in Tirana. Establishment of an efficient partnership between school *mentors* and *university tutors* was a priority.

Initially the mentor structure was established by selecting mentor teachers and school coordinators in the mentor schools. Also individual responsibilities were defined for the bodies involved such as LEDs, the University and the partner schools. Mentors and school coordinators underwent a series of training seminars about their role and ways they could perform their work in a professional way. The

training programme also included assessment of competencies, capacities and professional skills of the student teacher.

For the first time the student's experience was documented through the student's portfolio and assessment forms. On the other hand the mentor-mentee relationship was also important in building attitudes among the new teachers.

The structure functioned well as long as it had donor support for the preparation of materials and training and to pay teachers for their extra work. However, once the financial support from the donors was exhausted, the structure began to disintegrate. The government lacked the financial means to support this new system, although it was aware of its importance. In the same way the LEDs could not stimulate. Consequently, this affected the motivation of mentors and tutors markedly. However, currently, the situation varies across universities. In the regional universities, pedagogic practice is taken more seriously compared to the Tirana university and such a difference in commitment may be attributed to their tradition in having a more pedagogic bias. Their sole responsibility was to prepare teachers.

In the Tirana University the *mentor structure* exists but its quality is in question. Part of the problem is the lack of funding. There is no commitment on the part of teachers, as it takes extra work. In cases when the mentor structure operates, teachers do it on a voluntary basis. Also, teachers see this as a way to take some time off (about a month), as the student teacher will take up their class. The problem, however, is not only with mentor teachers, the university tutors also see this work as boring and are unwilling to attend to students during pedagogic practice. This may be explained by the academic tradition of the Tirana University. The situation in the regional universities seems to be somewhat more encouraging, a fact, which may be attributed to the primary role of these universities: the training of elementary school teachers.

With regard to the *Teaching Methods* project the KUALIDA in-service training experience with the Open University in UK was used as a model. This effort brought together specialists from six universities of Albania to work on a pre-service teacher education programme. The project aimed at supporting university teachers and students with the most up-to-date knowledge in the field of teaching methods and to get them acquainted with a range of alternatives in teaching methods and a variety of real situations from the Albanian classrooms. One very important target group were the under qualified and unqualified teachers. On-the-job training in the area of teaching methods would make up for their lack of initial training.

The initial step was a one-week training of an Albanian team in the OU and a national seminar organized shortly after with a larger group of educators from the universities participating. The purpose of the seminar was to familiarize them with the concept of open and distant learning and teaching, learning resources, forms of support, regional structures, mentoring, course design and course writing and video production. In determining the content and development of the course materials the opinion of a wider group from each university was sought. As the teaching methods manual was the first of its kind for pre-service students, it covered topics such as theories of teaching, classroom management and organization, assessment were considered indispensable by the development team. In addition to theory, the manual also detailed practical activities. Also six videocassettes illustrating the use of the new teaching methods in Albanian classrooms were produced.

Because the project was over ambitious not only in terms of the target groups it addressed and the range of topics, it was decided to appoint one person from each university to pilot and monitor stand-alone modules. The project was piloted by university teachers, who taught subject area methodologies, 300 student teachers (full time), 250 student teachers (part time) and 225 unqualified teachers, whose number had become problematic. The plan was to establish links between the *teaching methods theme* and the *partnership theme*, by training mentor teachers and students in the use of the teaching methods. However, this failed because of lack of coordination among the project leaders.

The feasibility study had revealed that the curriculum should also include special needs education, environmental education, citizenship education, education management and computer science. All of these were introduced later in the teacher education curriculum. However, this was to a great extent conditioned by the teaching staff available in each university. Consequently, the teacher education curricula became quite varied in its content. Since 2000 human rights education became part of the pre-service curriculum in the pedagogical faculties in five universities: Shkodër, Elbasan, Vlorë, Korçë and Djirokastrë, a joint cooperation between the MoES, the PRI, the Centre for Human Rights, the five departments in the respective universities and the LEDs.

In general the teacher education curricula fall under four main headings: *General subjects*, *Basic subjects (formation)*, *Professional subjects (formation)* and *Elective subjects*. Differences exist not only within individual universities but also within faculties. Currently professional subjects in *Faculties of Education* (Faculties for the preparation of primary school teachers) fall into three main groups: psychology, pedagogy and methodology. Psychology includes general psychology, development psychology, pedagogic psychology, communication psychology, and social psychology. Pedagogy includes history of pedagogic thinking, educational psychology, introduction to educational science, didactics, special education, comparative pedagogy, educational research in pedagogy and family pedagogy. While in the curriculum of teacher education faculties, professional subjects consist mainly of psychology and pedagogy. The plan is to divide psychology into *introduction to psychology* and *developmental psychology* while pedagogy will break into *introduction to pedagogy* and *didactics*.

There are differences across universities. In the Faculty of Albanian language and literature in Tirana University, students are divided into specialty subject areas, i.e. they attend the common course during the first two years and in the third year they choose between Albanian language and literature. The diploma they receive allows them to teach in secondary school. In the University of Elbasan an attempt has been made to divide the language and literature branch to train students as Language teachers and

Literature teachers. While in the universities of Korcha, Shkodër and Djirokastra, there is no such division.

In the teacher education faculties of Tirana University, in general, students in the first two years take *basic formation courses*, which they choose between a specialty course and the teacher preparation course. The decision as to which course the student will attend is made taking account of the student's own desire and the set criteria. An average mark of 8.3 or over is required to attend the specialty course. However, this pattern is not common to all branches. All students take the same course whether or not they want to go into the teaching profession or the specialty area. In the foreign languages branch after two years of taking the general course students can choose between three options: interpreter/translator, linguist and teacher. The curriculum varies in order to fit their specialty, but when they finish school they are all allowed to teach.

Currently, teachers in Albania are prepared in six universities with teacher education faculties.

University of Tirana	University of Shkoder	University of Elbasan	University of Korcha	University of Djirokastra	University of Vlora
<i>Trains secondary schools teachers</i>	<i>Trains elementary school teachers</i>	<i>Trains elementary and secondary school teachers</i>	<i>Trains pre- and elementary school teachers</i>	<i>Trains elementary school teachers</i>	<i>Trains elementary school teachers</i>
Social sciences Faculty	Social sciences Faculty	Science Faculty	History and philology Faculty	History and Geography Department	English language Department
History and Philology Faculty	Natural science Faculty	Foreign languages department	History department	Science Department	
Sciences Faculty	Foreign Languages Faculty	Mathematics Department	Geography Department	English language Department	
		Physics Department	Foreign. Lang. Department		
		Biology Department	Psychology and education Department		
		Chemistry Department			
		Physical education Department			
All have the Faculty of Education (for pre-school and junior elementary school teachers)					

Regional universities prepare student teachers for the K-8 level (pre-school, elementary schools and junior secondary school teachers). In each case training is of four-years duration except for pre-school, which lasts three years. In 1998-1999, the term of study in the Faculty of Education was extended to four years. The length of the academic year in universities is 38-40 weeks, divided 30-32 weeks of teaching and teaching practice and 8 weeks for exams.

The opening of new branches in universities was a result of various factors:

- *population shifts to the urban areas* - shortage of mathematics teachers in the district due to the population shift to the urban areas led to the opening of the Mathematics branch in Korcha University;
- *the tradition* – the French branch was opened in Korcha because of the strong tradition and influence of the French Lyceum;
- *labour market* - the English language branch was opened to meet the growing demand for English language teachers who had joined the private sector.
- *other experiences* - in Shkodër University a proposal, No. 360, 28.05.1998 was made to the MoES to restructure the Faculty Education follow the French model, IUFM by opening the *Didactics Department*, which would bring all subject area didactics in one single department. But the proposal was not supported by the MoES.

Currently Teacher Education Universities issue the following diplomas:

<i>Tirana University</i>	<i>Shkodra University</i>	<i>Elbasan University</i>	<i>Korcha University</i>	<i>Djirrokastër University</i>	<i>Vlora University</i>
Secondary school teachers	Pre-school, junior and senior elementary school teachers				
Mathematics	Foreign languages (English, Italian, German)	Albanian language and literature	English and French	Albanian language and literature	English
Physics	History, geography	Foreign languages (English, Italian, German)	Mathematics	Greek language and literature	
Biology	Mathematics, physics	History and geography		History and geography	
Chemistry	Biology and chemistry	Mathematics and physics		Mathematics, physics	
History - philology		Biology and chemistry		Biology and chemistry	

	Pre-school and junior elementary	Pre-school and junior elementary	Pre-school and junior elementary	Pre-school, junior elementary	Junior elementary
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In the recent years there has been a growing interest in the teaching profession course because it provides more job opportunities. In 2002 more students in the teacher education faculties opted for the teaching profession. Attendance, by ISCED – 97, has noted an increase during the last years. While in the 1997-1998 academic year the number of students attending teacher education faculties was 3,875, in 1999-2000 it increased to 4,933 (INSTAT, Yearbook of education statistics, December 2000, p. 74). The worsening of the economy and the difficulty of getting a job in other areas of the economy made teaching an attractive proposition for work. The MoES gave the orientation that unqualified teachers attend the correspondence courses that were opened. As a result an increase was noted in the number of part time students in universities, with the number amounting to about 52 %. The biggest number was in the universities of Tirana and Elbasan.

However, this was done at the expense of the quality. First standards were not maintained and there was a lot of corruption as people paid for the exam passes. This was a major concern. The Minister of Education, Ben Blushi argued that it “had been largely broiled for low quality, corruption, unmerited marks which has resulted in a number of people receiving unmerited diplomas” (Mësuesi, 2002, No.1) and announced the closure of the correspondence system (Mësuesi, 2002, No. 2). However, the MoES decided to maintain the correspondence system for a limited number of unqualified teachers (Andoni, 2003), whose situation became more difficult with the abolition of the system of formateurs in 1998. The MoES also planned to close the Regional Faculties of Education and reopen the pedagogic schools for the preparation of pre-school and elementary school teachers, because students graduating from these faculties did not go to teach in village schools. However, this was strongly rejected by teacher educators on the ground that it would not help improve the situation. They recommended to the MoES that better working conditions for teachers would be an alternative way of resolving the problem.

Current reform processes and implications for teacher education

Globalization, the opening of the country to the world and access to information and communications have opened up new prospects for capable people to travel to other countries. Enlargement prospects together with the deepening relations with other European countries have become an increasingly concrete and relevant reality for the European Union and its citizens. There is a growing awareness in large parts of the political and academic world and in public opinion of the need to establish a more complete and far-reaching Europe, in particular building upon and strengthening its intellectual, cultural, social and scientific and technological dimensions. A Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognized as an indispensable factor for the social and human growth and a vital component to consolidate and enrich European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competencies to face the challenges of the new millennium along with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space.

The aspiration of the Albanian people to integrate into the European family calls for new requirements in the education system. Education must be of high quality, open, and flexible. Recent polls indicate that almost half of Albania's youth hope to emigrate to Europe or North America. To this end the Ministry of Education is working on a strategy with the World Bank to reform the pre-university education system and is looking at the possibility of extending compulsory education from 8 to 9 years. This will lead to the revision of all curricula to fit a five-day-a-week teaching regime. There is need for radical education reform with regard to curricula, administration, financing and management. The strategy of the MoES focuses on three main objectives:

- a) Normalization of the education system,
- b) Increase of its efficiency and quality assurance,
- c) European integration of Albanian education.

The Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) has identified two main objectives for the education sector: a) increasing attendance throughout mandatory 8-year primary education system,

especially among poorer and more remote areas of the country; and b) increasing the quality of teaching.

It calls for levels of enrolment in the 8-year education system to increase from about 90% in 2000 to 94 % in 2004 and to 100% by 2015 across all population groups and regions. Increased attendance in the 8-grade system is to be achieved through greater enrolment of children from poor families, especially those in rural and suburban areas for which special programmes and projects need to be developed, but also there is a need to give more responsibility at the local level. The document of the Strategy for decentralization and Local Autonomy was approved in 1999 by the Albanian government and foresees a number of immediate reforms that delegate more power from the central government to local authorities. The strategy is under implementation with the related legal and regulatory framework still under preparation.

The Education Reform Project (ERP) will be funded by a World Bank credit of 12 million US dollars. ERP has started with the restructuring of the MoES itself with its main arms comprising *National Education Inspectorate* (Inspektoriat Kombëtar i Arsimit Publik) (IKAP), Curriculum and Standards Agency, Teacher Training Agency (TTA) and the Assessment and Evaluation Agency (AEA). The MoES will consist of the School Unit (LEDs and Schools will be under its umbrella), Higher Education Unit (to monitor the Universities), other Units, and the Policy Unit. This reorganization has however brought about some uncertainty as to the shape and form of the MoES, in respect of the delegation of responsibilities to the newly created or existing bodies/agencies. However the main task of the MoES will be to develop and ensure the implementation of government policy in those fields for which it has responsibility which are: Education and Science.

The ERP will aim at improving the effectiveness of teaching and learning in basic education. In order to achieve this, three main tasks are envisaged: the restructuring of the present PRI, supporting

innovations in curriculum design and content and the curriculum development process, and the piloting of new in-service teacher training programmes and delivery mechanisms.

The first step in the reformation process is the devolution of responsibilities for the management of pre-university education by setting up an Inspectorate and reorganizing the LEDs after the Scottish model. This new form of organization suits the new administrative division comprising 12 counties; many of the educational administrative functions will be organized at this level. The LEDs will be freed from their inspectorate duties and IKAP will be set up with about 180 inspectors. IKAP will maintain links with the MoES through its Chief Inspector, based in Tirana. It will comprise four units based in four districts: Shkodra, Tirana, Korcha and Vlora. Each unit will have four counties under its supervision. Staff will be hired according to set criteria thus avoiding political influence. Inspectors will receive the training needed to perform their job well.

The main responsibility of the Inspectorate will be to make an external evaluation of schools by providing quantitative and qualitative data, which they will pass to the LED in order for it to improve its work in future. The Education Directorates that will be set up in the twelve counties will carry out an internal evaluation of schools every 3-4 years. The findings of the inspection will be made known to the school community, local government authorities, and the MoES. School principals will also prepare reports providing evidence and argument about the quality of their school. The challenge is that school principals do not have the pertinent knowledge and skills to do this evaluation. To address this, the Faculty of Social Sciences will start a course in education administration for school principals. Admission to the course will be made on a *concourse*. The course will provide knowledge on education legislation and government policy and guidelines as well as education and budget management.

According to the new procedures, school principals are appointed by a committee consisting of representatives from LEDs, Local Government, Trade Unions and Student Parliament. The committee

selects the school principals and transfers them to other schools (Mësuesi 2001, No. 5). But the designation of school principals of September 2002 proved the opposite. In Tirana for instance 90 % of school principals have been moved to other schools so as to strengthen the school management (Mësuesi 2002, No. 28). The director of the LED of Tirana claimed that this was done in common agreement with the LED director, the head of the *Control and Training Sector* and the *Statistics Department*. The opinion of inspectors was also taken into consideration, as supervision of seven schools was part of their job description. Then based on his observations the inspector provided recommendations to the Director of LED.

At first sight this looks democratic and based on professional objectivity, but a closer look at the quality of people nominated in some schools, their professional qualifications and their working history, reveals a situation far from being ideal. The Minister of Education, Luan Memushi, in his annual report, considered this as a positive development because “some of the school principals had become too familiarized with the teaching staff of the school”.

The dismantling of the *formateur system* in 1998 led to a chaotic situation in teacher training. The gap in provision was filled by a variety of ad hoc arrangements involving independent agencies, NGOs and foundations. The TTD is not dealing with identifying and determining priorities for in-service training but is only responding to piecemeal imperative training needs. With a small staff, only nine persons, the PRI can hardly be expected to play this role. To this end the World Bank study has proposed the establishment of an in-service training agency to deal with the teacher training issues.

In pre-service teacher education, the need to look at the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education. It is necessary to ensure that the European higher education system acquires a worldwide degree attraction equal to our extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions. The “Bologna Declaration” signed in June 18th, 1999 defined several objectives for the next millenium:

- Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees, also through the implementation of the Diploma Supplement, in order to promote European citizens' employability and the international competitiveness of the European higher education system;
- Adoption of a system essentially based on two main cycles, undergraduate and graduate; Access to the second cycle shall require successful completion of first cycle studies, lasting a minimum of three years. The degree awarded after the first cycle shall be relevant to the European labour market as an appropriate level of qualification. The second cycle should lead to the master and/or doctorate degree as in many European countries;
- Establishment of a system of credits – such as in the ECTS system – as a proper means of promoting the most widespread student mobility. Credits could also be acquired in non-higher education contexts including lifelong learning, provided they are recognized by receiving Universities concerned;
- Promotion of mobility by overcoming obstacles to the effective exercises of free movement with particular attention to a) for students access to study and training opportunities to related services; b) for teachers, researchers and administrative staff, recognition and valorization of periods spent in a European context researching, teaching and training without prejudicing their statutory rights;
- Promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance with a view to develop comparable criteria and methodologies; Promotion of the necessary European dimensions in higher education, particularly with regards to curricular development, inter-institutional co-operation, mobility schemes and integrated programmes of study, training and research.

MoES has already submitted its official request to become part of this process, hoping that in October 2003 it will become a member.

The changes in economy, science, and technology as well as political and social changes, have influenced higher education institutions and have increased their significance in the transformation process. The reformation of the higher education institutions is meant to support this process. Given the fact that Higher Education can have a direct impact on the labour market because it is the institution that prepares teachers, it is subject to continuous change.

Conclusions

The democratic changes in Albania brought about not only a collapse of the prevailing ideology but also opportunities for people to travel and seek employment in other countries. Albanians became aware that a modern economy demanded new skills and attitudes. The changes in the mission and content of education gave a new dimension to the role of the teacher. In-service training became one of the government's top priorities. However, the various initiatives, which were mainly supported by foreign donor agencies, were piecemeal and not in the framework of a clear national strategy.

Brain drain, the introduction of the market economy and the population shifts to urban areas have increased the number of unqualified teachers in the public education sector. The continued presence of so many unqualified teachers is one of the major challenges that in-service training has to meet; in one way or another it subverts the value of qualifications that pre-service teacher education is trying to provide.

The economic and social problems in the country have tremendously affected the teaching profession. Low salaries and the difficult working conditions have made teaching a less appealing job. This has substantially decreased teacher motivation and teacher status has plummeted. Regardless of the various initiatives aimed at changing teachers' attitudes and practices, effective few changes have occurred in schools and classrooms.

Lack of a national strategy and instability in the country has not permitted sustainable initiatives, regardless of the government's interest. The centralized system of teacher training has atrophied the initiatives at the grassroots level leaving it exclusively with the TTD. The limited size of the TTD and the problems multiplied with the downfall of the formateur structure laid down the need to devolve responsibilities and empowerment of people at the local level. Now the training responsibility at the local level is entirely with the LEDs.

The reform processes in the structure and content of pre-service training have led to some improvements in the preparation of young teachers. Teacher education is entirely with the university; new faculties and branches have been opened. However, the restructuring of higher education was characterized by a lot of subjectivity. Consequently there emerged structures, which could not adequately fulfil a pedagogic and scientific function.

General principles and trends in educational policies and pedagogic thinking in Western European countries have had a growing influence and a significant impact on the new curricula. However professional preparation of young teachers still bears some footprints of the past. There is still a missing link between pre-service and in-service, this being more obvious in Tirana university.

The Bologna Declaration may lead to the reorganization of Higher Education, which will pave the way to the European integration. To what extent it will fit the Albanian reality is another challenge ahead.

Section Three

Chapter 7

Guiding concepts revisited: Analysis and Conclusions

Introduction

This research has described and analyzed the development of teacher education from the period of *Rilindja Kombëtare* to the present. It has explored the historical, political and social factors that have influenced the development of teacher education in Albania while identifying external factors, which have influenced these developments. It has pointed to the significance of political, social and economic factors on teacher status and how it has fluctuated over time. It has also described and analysed how teacher education has come increasingly under the spotlight of the public. Most importantly, the thesis has highlighted that developments in Albania over the years resonate with European and more recently, global developments.

Guiding Concept 1

The changing nature of political and social control and influence has been an important factor in the development of teacher education.

In analyzing the first guiding concept two elements, clearly apparent in the data and chronological record, have been taken into account: *time* and *space*. The time factor has been significant in locating developments in certain parts of Albania. Political factors have had a significant impact on developments of teacher education in Albania at certain points in time of Albania's history. For example, the political situation in Albania, under the Ottoman rule prohibited the establishment of an Albanian education system. As has been indicated in chapter three, religion was influential for education developments during the time Albania was under the Ottoman rule. It was used by the Greeks and the Ottoman Empire as a political tool to rule the Albanian population. As a consequence Albanians were divided into three religions and received education only in Turkish, Greek and Latin schools. As a result, in the later part of the 19th century there were only two kinds of teacher preparation schools: the Turkish *dar-ul-mualimin* and the Greek *didaskalion*.

The high rate of illiteracy made imperative the education of the Albanian people in their struggle for independence. As a consequence, the first Albanian schools emerged causing the need for teachers. But the country's backwardness and the political situation during the *Rilindja Kombëtare* made it impossible to prepare teachers for Albania's schools; hence the involvement of itinerant teachers.

With the opening of Albanian schools in the country, the opening of teacher preparation schools became crucial. Due to the pressure of the Ottoman government the first teacher preparation schools

were opened outside Albania, in Romania. While on the one hand, the political factors led to the opening of the school, the *economic* factors determined whether it would survive or not. As chapter three describes, the school was short lived and closed for lack of funding.

In addition to the political and economic factor the thesis has stressed that the social factors have also played a significant role in the development of teacher education in Albania. A distinguishing element that is common to all the periods is the education of women, which was an important social issue for the patriarchal Albanian society. The social and economic development of backward Albania required the involvement of women in the social life of the country. During the *Rilindja Kombëtare* Sami Frasheri raised his voice in the parliament about the importance of educating women. This prompted the opening of the first Young Ladies' School, which also functioned as a teacher preparation school at a later stage.

The weakening of the Ottoman Empire and the intensification of the struggle for independence in the early part of 20th century made it possible for the Normal School of Elbasan to open. The opening of the Normal School happened exactly at the same time as the Albanian nation was in the making and confirms Moon's (2001, p. 3) thesis "that the *e'cole normale* came to play a significant role in nation building" in many parts of Europe. The teachers who came from the Normal School educated people all over Albania in a crucial period of Albanian independence.

But the political instability in the country impacted on the dynamics of developments in teacher education. For example, because of the Balkan War, the Normal School of Elbasan was closed. For the same reason, Parasqevi Kyrias' *Projekti Arsimor* was not implemented. As a consequence, a unified Albanian education system was not possible. The invading countries imposed their education systems and chaos prevailed in Albanian schools with each country applying its own textbooks and methodologies. As education was one of the main pillars to protect the independence of the country, the then government immediately started the *rende të shpejta* as a way to train a big number of teachers in a short time. For scarce financial resources meant that the government could not afford to open teacher preparation schools.

The thesis has shown that following independence Albanian education took a western orientation relying heavily on Austrian traditional curriculum. It has also indicated how political conjectures and external influences have directly impacted over teacher education policy. The *scope* and *nature* of these influences vary. For instance the influence of the Austrian-Hungarian invasion was significant in both *quantitative* and *qualitative* terms. During the Austrian Hungarian occupation schools in two thirds of the country were opened; also a number of teacher preparation schools were opened mainly in the northern Catholic populated area. Catholic normal schools existed in the northern part of Albania as

a result of the interest of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire on this area. Here we see how politics and religion interrelate.

With regard to the qualitative aspect, as chapter four has already indicated, new educational ideas were imported. As a result of the Austrian influence Albanian education finally broke away from the Eastern influence and orienting towards the west. For example in the early part of the 20th century Herbartian pedagogy was introduced in Albania as a result of the Austrian-Hungarian influence. The Herbartian pedagogy became deeply rooted and was accepted by Albanian educators because Herbart was quite popular in Europe at that time. By that time Albanian education was in complete chaos and Herbart's pedagogy was seen as the only remedy to bring some sort of order.

With the country being more and more consolidated other external influences began appear. For example in the 1920s King Zog's policy with the USA led to the opening of a number of American schools (with 'normal' branches). As a consequence progressive education and the scout movement were introduced in these schools, more conspicuously in the Harry Fultz' Technical School. Certain individuals made a tremendous contribution in this regard. For example the Kyrias Sisters with their *Instituti Arsimor Kyrias* and the Girls' Normal Schools not only addressed the issue of the education of women which was so indispensable for the remarkably patriarchal Albanian society but also introduced a western model in education.

The thesis has supported what Archer (1979, in Moon 2001, p. 144) suggests "that the different forms into which educational systems evolve reflect the ways in which successive groups shook off the constraints of *religious* control". In this connection, the discussion in chapter four has illustrated the strong emphasis that was placed on the 1922 and 1924 Education Congresses to free education from the influence of clergy. The closure of foreign schools, of which some were religious ones, was made at the decision of Minister Ivanaj and his team. Fischer (1984) has commented on this act as being a form of revenge on the part of the Albanian government towards Italy because of the controversies between the two governments. Although this may not be entirely true, it could be argued that it had deeper roots. Foreign schools with their curriculum, which focused on the culture of their own countries, infringed on the emerging national identity and unity, which for that time was at stake.

This stand of the Albanian government also throws light on the *Secularism* movement in Albania and why it was important. The struggle for Independence required Albanians to be unified and this could be only achieved by providing people with an education free from religious control and influence. Religion had become a stumbling block to achieve this goal. This may explain the shift from the Austrian curricula to the French and Swiss ones in the 1930s, thus confirming Beattie's (1997, p. 303) argument that "it is history, which has determined secularism ... as a principal element of the movement pedagogique".

With the consolidation of the Albanian State in the 1930s and the implementation of the Ivanaj reform the western orientation deepened by relying on modern curricula borrowed from other countries such as France and Switzerland and through the training of people in schools in the West. Albanians in that period of selectivity for access to the west travelled extensively and elite of educators was prepared.

The political events in the late 1930s in which the Italian and German occupation unified the majority of Albanian territory in one single state caused developments to be displaced from Albania to Kosova. Similar patterns were used. First training of teachers took place through fast track pedagogic courses. Also, several normal schools, prohibited by the Serbs for a long time, were finally opened in Kosova. In addition, an official cooperation began between Kosova and Albania as a large number of Albanian teachers went to teach in the schools of Kosova. This cooperation was favoured by the political instability in Albania following World War II as Albania's status remained unsettled until 1948. Chapter five has indicated that similar patterns were used both in Albania and Kosova for the training of teachers: *rende të shpejta*.

The level of knowledge and skills people possessed conditioned the economic development of the country, which was destroyed during World War II. The high rate of illiteracy among people in post war Albania was a big hindrance. But while the need for new schools and teachers became imperative, the major economic difficulties of post-war Albania made it difficult to prepare teachers in teacher preparation schools since the government of Albania could not afford regular and expensive forms of training. So, the only solution to the problem was the *fast track pedagogic courses*. As indicated in chapter five such courses were intensified particularly during the first years of post-war Albania but other forms of training, such as Education Conferences, were also applied.

During communism we notice major efforts of the communist government for a bigger involvement of women in the political and social life as well as in the productive sectors of the economy. As a result the number of kindergartens increased and a branch for kindergarten teachers was opened in pedagogic schools. However, regardless of the efforts to encourage the education of women and their participation in social life, the Albanian society continued to be patriarchal in post war years. As a consequence, girls who studied in the normal schools did not go to teach in remote areas thus leading to the opening of Normal schools for boys.

The thesis has identified a close link between teacher education and economy. For example, the universalization of education and training of teachers in order to prepare citizens with the necessary skills for the economic development of the country, accounts for the opening of the first two-year Higher Pedagogic Institute in Tirana in 1946 and of the University of Tirana in 1957 and of the Higher Pedagogic Institute in Shkodër in 1957.

The changes in the political course of the Albanian government led to the establishment of a Soviet system of teacher education following the 1946 Education Reform, which markedly relied on communist ideology. In Albania the educational policies, like in many CEE countries, were oriented towards the Soviet model confirming Popkewitz' view (1987) that "reforms may either ask for a *reconceptualization* and restructuring of the education systems or may create entirely new systems". The education system of Albania was entirely changed. The teacher education system as part of the education system was totally oriented to the Soviet model of teacher education. This was expressed through the establishment of several pedagogic schools and Higher Pedagogic Institutes for the preparation of teachers as well as in its content.

Chapter five has clearly indicated how pedagogic schools became targets of this reform and how their curriculum changed significantly following the Soviet model and the involvement of Russian experts in this regard. The ideas of western scholars were eliminated from the curriculum. However, the thesis has shown that this process was not an abrupt one. Chapter five has provided illustrations to show that in the first two years of post war Albania there was a certain degree of tolerance towards western methodologies. For example Herbartianism and pragmatism were still alive among teachers. Also, the global method was largely applied in elementary schools. However, it can be argued that although criticism was placed on Herbart, Albanian schools maintained his influence. The school became largely controllable and the teacher was highly authoritative and the only source of information in the instructional process. This was due to the change of the mission of education, which had to prepare citizens faithful to the regime and ignored the individual needs of children.

However, this was not a quick and smooth process. First there were a number of teachers who were trained in "the old regime" and were resistant to the new ideology. Secondly the economic difficulties made it difficult for the Albanian government to retrain teachers on a large scale to redo their thinking. The strategy adopted by the Albanian government to do away with the western ideas by ridding of teachers who opposed the regime or by putting them in prisons worked. Education and pedagogy reflected communist ideology.

The thesis has indicated how and to what extent politics have impacted on teacher education. For example, following the breaking up with the Soviet Union and the leaning of the Albanian government towards communist China the structure and content of teacher education underwent significant changes. An example of this change was the introduction of the so-called "revolutionary triangle" not known before. The instructional period in schools was shortened to six months versus nine months it was before. The *revolutionization of school* in 1969 focused on strengthening the ideological component of education thus confirming Bernstein's view (1996) that "every time a discourse on education reform starts, there is space for ideology to play".

With the establishment of communism for almost half a century, Albania's political isolation increased the power of the central government. It became the sole interpreter and negotiator of deals with Soviet Union and China and did not allow for Albanian experts to have their say as to which model to adopt. Consequently, the scope of choices was limited while mostly relying on the Russian and Chinese ones. The thesis has clearly indicated that changes in Albanian education were a local variant of change observable throughout Eastern and Central Europe in the decades after 1945.

The political changes of the 1990s led to a change in the mission of education, which posed a new reality for teachers. Teacher education became the priority of the democratic government. Chapter six has provided a number of examples of this interest of the government and of public opinion. A number of projects were initiated in teacher education so that it could respond to the political and social changes. Regardless of this interest the support provided by the Albanian government was insignificant in financial terms. During this time we see a number of NGOs involved in introducing change. We see old models such as Regio Emilia and Montessori reappear in pre-school education. Also, British Council, United States Information Service (USIS) and the French Alliance trained teachers in the use of new methodologies in teaching.

Foreign models were also introduced in teacher education. Chapter six has illustrated how the Romanian structure of in-service training through the structure of *formateurs* was introduced. It was a new mechanism, which previously had not been deployed in any shape or form in Albania. Also, in pre-service teacher education a variety of models were introduced. Chapter six has indicated the way they were introduced and it can be argued that they were mainly initiatives coming from outside rather than initiatives coming from the local people. The Pace programme and the Italian model of media centres were introduced because of contacts in relevant institutions and the British initiative of restructuring teacher education in Albania was mainly the initiative of the British institution rather than something that grew from within Albanian teacher education institutions.

As a result of the socio-economic problems many Albanians left the country. Also there were big population shifts to the urban areas where the living conditions were better and where there were more job opportunities. Consequently, the number of unqualified teachers increased in these areas and the need for their training emerged. During this period we see an active involvement of NGOs such as the British Council and USIS which assisted in the training of unqualified teachers. The situation of unqualified teachers became problematic in foreign languages following the policy of the Albanian government to introduce the English curriculum in the majority of Albanian schools. This decreased the need for French teachers, which meant that many of them either had to work in other sectors or convert into English teachers. In addition to this, the removal of the Russian language from the curriculum meant that large numbers of Russian teachers remained jobless. This prompted the

initiation of fast track pedagogic courses for the training of Russian and French teachers to replace the English teachers who left teaching for other better paid jobs.

The introduction of the market economy and competitive salaries in the private sector versus the ones offered in the public sector as well as the difficulty in finding a teaching post made teaching a less appealing profession. As it has been indicated in chapter six, the number of students wanting to become teachers has decreased drastically. But with the increase of job opportunities in the teaching sector there is an increased interest in the teaching profession. More pupils have applied to teacher education institutions in recent years, which indicates a direct link between teacher education and the labour market.

Guiding Concept 2

Social, economic and political factors are more significant in forming societal perceptions of teacher status than formal professional qualifications.

Throughout the four periods political, economic and social factors were significant in determining the status of teachers in Albania. They have exercised their influence in a number of ways. For instance during the *Rilindja Kombëtare* period itinerant teachers, although they did not have the proper qualification to teach, were critical in teaching the Albanian people how to read and write their native language. At this time 98% of the population was illiterate. Albanian language education could play a crucial role as it would bring Albanian into one single nation and would help in raising the awareness of the Albanian people in the struggle for independence and in the nation building. This explains the appreciation of the role of itinerant teachers (Dodani, 1930, p.32).

Chapter four has emphasized the role of teachers in addressing national problems. Hence the work of an elementary school teacher was highly appreciated. For Parasqevi Kyrias the teacher was a role model and the number one person, responsible for the education of pupils. While, Luigj Gurakuqi called the Normal school teachers *apostles*. But the particular conditions of Albania, its backwardness, its high level of illiteracy, and its lack of teachers allowed for low requirements. People who were only able to read and write could teach.

The view that “everybody can teach”, challenged since 1891 (Goodland 1990) was also challenged exactly at the same time in Albania when Parasqevi Kyrias wrote her article “Educational issues” in which she considered a teacher who had only reading and writing skills as harmful. The discussion in chapter three has indicated that once the minimum needs for teachers were met with the girls graduating from the Young Ladies’ School teaching in the schools of Albania some knowledge of teaching skills was provided for teachers.

With independence on the horizon, the need to professionalize teaching emerged. The teachers of the Normal School of Elbasan were seen as apostles who lead the country towards progress. Chapter four has already indicated that in addition to the proper qualifications, in order to exercise this *sacred craft*, the moral figure of the teacher was also required (Fishta 1924, p. 232). Hilë Mosi, the Minister of Education in 1930s, saw the teacher as an irreplaceable person.

The discussion in chapter four illustrates the importance that was placed on teachers' economic status and for the first time, in 1921, their status was based on qualifications. Later in chapter four we observe how this was carried further with the Ivanaj Reform. In order to determine their economic status, in addition to qualifications, teachers were required to have "a national feeling, integrity and conscientiousness". The position of the teacher reached a high status during King Zog's rule. Teachers were paid very well. They had a high social image, too.

With the establishment of communism and following the policy of the communist government to open education to the masses we see again that itinerant teachers were involved. The government of Albania had to rely on them at this stage because qualified teachers were few in the country and training them not only needed time but also financial means. Regardless of their poor qualifications, teachers were called "commissars of light " by the regime, which indicated that they not only taught people but also transmitted the ideology of the communist party. They were paid for their work like the other teachers teaching in schools.

The discussion in chapter five highlights the crucial role of teachers in the reconstruction of the country. Communist education, one of the main issues of the education reform, could be achieved only through teachers. They were seen as political tools to redo people's thinking in compliance with the new political system. As such their status was very high and were called by the regime "soldiers of the party".

The manipulative statement that was used during the communist period that "in the previous regime a teacher was called a creature who was looked down upon... and an illiterate *dzandar** who controlled the teacher's behaviour", was used to arouse unpleasant feelings among the people for the old regime. At the same time this indicated the power of teachers who were used as vehicles to support the regime. Whilst on the one hand teachers were considered important to the regime, on the other hand, they came under strict government control, and were denigrated through pupils' public criticism following the *revolutionarization of school*. While this may seem as an effort to encourage democratic relations among teachers and pupils in school and to encourage pupils to take an active part in the learning process, it in fact aimed at limiting their independent thinking and initiative.

The government of Albania took measures to professionalize teaching by opening in 1946 the two-year Higher Pedagogic Institute and in 1970 regional Higher Pedagogic Institutes as well as prolonging of studies. It also opened teacher education faculties in Tirana University and started the teaching of professional subjects. But, because of the regime's awareness of the power of teacher education, the subject area of pedagogy was extremely politicized to ensure that the beliefs among the younger generation were in line with the ruling regime. The main aim of pedagogy was "to educate the new communist man". A distinguishing feature of teacher education during communism was that the ideological component be the main part of every teacher education programme.

Chapter five has indicated that during communism the status of the teaching profession was equal to other professions. Teachers teaching in rural areas received a compensation for difficult working conditions" which was not the case for specialists in other fields of the economy. This was, however, a *façade* because the economic remuneration for these teachers was poor. The difficulties in remote areas did not match the payment.

While at first sight teachers seemed to have a high social image, their status in fact began, with the worsening of the economic situation, to plummet even during communism. Teachers became dependent on their pupils and their parents for food and clothes, which were exchanged for good marks. This was a conflict of interest, which impacted negatively their image.

The discussion in chapter six illustrates how teacher status was significantly affected by the introduction of the market economy in Albania following the collapse of communism. The market economy offered more job opportunities. The private sector began to challenge the public one. The teaching profession became a much less appealing profession for the majority of young people because of the low salary it offered. The low salaries in the public sector forced many teachers to do other part time jobs and not to fully commit themselves to teaching. As a low status profession teaching was a less appealing career. The number of students wanting to study to become teachers has decreased (see fig 13).

Chapter six has shown that teacher education was fully brought into the ambit of the university and that the teacher education curricula have been enriched with new subjects through the projects with foreign partners. The major TEMPUS teacher education restructuring effort brought about changes in five areas: curriculum, partnership, teaching methods, educational sciences and in the accreditation system. In this respect developments in Albania are in line with Popkewitz's (1993) statement that "teacher status can be brought to a higher standard through *professionalization of knowledge*: prolongation and the improvement of the content of teacher education courses"

However, regardless of these measures teacher status has decreased during the transition and this could largely be attributed to economic factors. The low salary has forced many teachers to teach private classes to their own pupils. This has become a major concern in all levels of the education hierarchy and the parent community and has been on the agenda of meetings in the Ministry of Education.

Chapter six has provided examples and figures about the large number of unqualified teachers as a result of teachers leaving the teaching profession to work in the private sector as it offers better salaries. This also describes how this phenomenon has affected the quality of teaching in schools. In this respect, the Albanian context is no different from the pattern that is common in other CEE countries that “when economies are growing young people are employed away for better-paid jobs. Also, the more knowledge-based forms of occupation, new types of job, appear to be attracting away those parts of any age cohort that traditionally went into teaching” (Moon, 2001).

Low teacher morale, which has affected tremendously teacher motivation and the quality of education in schools as well as the various social problems among the young people such as drug abuse, alcohol, violence, the rapport between pupils and teachers and the use of the mark as a power tool have all affected the teachers’ social prestige. Moon (2001, p. 1), has described this as a common phenomenon in many other countries thus confirming Karsten’s (1994) argument that the teaching profession is undergoing a crisis and that this crisis has more than just economic roots.

Guiding Concept 3

The development of teacher education will show an evolution from an unstructured differentiated pattern to a more unified, state influenced, university based provision.

The data provided evidence that teacher education in Albania has a long history and has been very much influenced by the developments in Europe. For instance the Normal schools of the Catholic Order in Shkoder, a Catholic populated area, were opened in the context of the Austrian *Kultus Protectorat*. Such schools were opened in other countries under the Hapsburg Empire at that time such as Slovenia, the Czech Republic and so forth.

Before the opening of the teacher preparation schools, requirements for the teaching profession were low. People without a formal education, but only with some reading and writing skills could teach. Standards for the teaching profession increased when Albanian schools opened and the first teacher preparation schools appeared such as the Ladies’ School, which later functioned as a school for the preparation of teachers. Later the Normal School of the “Drita” Association was opened in Bucharest. However, these schools were opened under the circumstances of changes in the political conjunctures; hence sporadic and not under a national strategy.

The changing political situation in Albania during the latter part of the 19th century increased the chances for the creation of an Albanian independent state, which also required educated people. As a result, the establishment of an Albanian education system was made more stable. The opening of the normal School of Elbasan represents the first unified teacher preparation institution to prepare teachers for the schools in the entire Albanian territory.

The establishment of an Albanian education system under the Vlora Provisional Government and the influence of other countries led to the opening of other teacher preparation schools in addition to the Normal School of Elbasan. But the lack of a national education strategy made these developments sporadic. They were opened every time the *politics* became less rigid as was the case with the Normal School of Elbasan and the Normal School of Berat. Another factor was the support from the foreign countries interested in the development of Albania, as was the case with the Austria-Hungarian Empire. *Politics* was also a strong push. For instance the American Schools in Albania were opened as a result of King Zog's policy. With the consolidation of the Albanian system following the Ivanaj Reform, the government took control of the teacher preparation schools and the preparation of teachers became unified.

The discussion in chapter five highlighted the unification of teacher preparation schools. Pedagogic schools were opened in the context of the government's strategy for education and were standardized. On the other hand, the economic development of the country and the need for better qualified people led to the emergence of Higher Education Institutions, the Higher Pedagogic Institutes and Tirana University respectively to prepare elementary and secondary school teachers.

The research seems to indicate that the development of teacher education in Albania has followed the pattern of development most common in many European countries:

- In the first stage a number of schools for teachers set up in parallel to upper secondary education emerged. This began first with the opening of the Normal School of Elbasan to be followed later with the Normal School of Stigmantine Sisters, the Normal School of Shkodra, the Normal School of Berat, the Normal Branch of the Hurry Fultz school and the Agricultural school of Kavaja in the pre-war period.
- The second stage saw the creation of separate establishments of post secondary status for teacher training in parallel to university. Following the education reform of 1946 a number of pedagogic schools, which prepared primary school and kindergarten teachers, were set up. Alongside pedagogic schools the two-year Higher Pedagogic Institute in Tirana was opened for the preparation of elementary and secondary schoolteachers. With the opening of the Tirana University preparation of teachers was finally differentiated. The Higher Pedagogic Institute of Shkoder, and

later those of Elbasan and Djirokastër, prepared elementary school teachers and Tirana University prepared secondary school teachers.

This development is similar to developments in other countries, such as Germany about which Terhart (in Moon 2001, p.4) argues that “the former normale form of teacher education “has passed through a process of academization”.

- The third stage is marked by the universitization of teacher education, which implies giving universities, the responsibility for preparing secondary school teachers and later primary school teachers. The data have shown that in the Albanian context, secondary school teachers were trained in the University of Tirana until 1990. In 1991 teacher education came fully under the ambit of the university. Preparation of primary school teachers became the responsibility of Higher Pedagogic Institutes, which received a university status to train senior and junior elementary teachers and with its curriculum changing significantly. This step was carried further with the training of pre-school teachers in regional universities in 1994.

Drawing on Neave’s argument (1992) that another element to approach the university norms is the prolongation of teacher training programmes to the pattern predominant in universities, looking at the data we come to the conclusion that teacher education in Albania has been in conformity with such developments. The course of studies in the Higher Pedagogic Institutes was extended from two to three years, and later from three to four years which is an indication of this tendency. The research has partially confirmed what various scholars have argued. It can’t be argued that universitization of teacher education in Albania is an outcome of the meritocratic principle as Neave (1992) argues.

Moon’s (1998) view that “universitization is an outcome of the increase of the government’s interest in teacher education through institutional restructuring” is fully confirmed by the data. The interest of the government of Albania was expressed in the 1940s and 1950s with the opening of the teacher education higher education institutions and reached its peak following the demise of the communist regime in which the preparation of teachers for all levels of schooling became the responsibility of the university.

Guiding Concept 4

Although the imposition of Moscow models influenced teacher education policies, pre-communist ideas re-emerge once political control and influence loosened.

In guiding concept one the analysis pointed to the ways historical and political factors have impacted on the development of teacher education in Albania. Chapters three and four have identified how the development of teacher education in Albania was very much influenced by developments in Europe. Albanian educators have been inclined to look to the west. For instance since the Rilindja Kombëtare

efforts were made to do away with the old fashioned methods of Turkish school where rote learning was prevalent. Pestalozzi seems to have been influential on Albanian educators such as Sami Frashëri when he advocated the education of children by their mothers (family education). Similarly, Parasqevi Kyrias looked at European models when she developed her *Projekti Arsimor*. Also, the curriculum of the normal school of Elbasan, and the others that followed later, speak of a western orientation.

Chapter four has provided evidence how pedagogic theories have evolved and how they were challenged over time. For instance, Locke's theory about the pupil being a *clean slate*, was replaced by Herbart's authoritarian pedagogy and its formal steps. It became the prevailing pedagogy particularly during 1919-1920 with the grades I-IV curriculum designed by Gaspër Beltoja, a former student in Klangefurt, Austria. The influence of the Austrian school was significant in the early part of the 20th century. Progressive education, which was introduced when the American schools were opened in Albania, challenged Herbartian pedagogy. Prof. Aleksander Xhuvani, formerly an advocate of Herbartian pedagogy recommended later "more freedom for the teacher to use his own mental and pedagogic skills". Students who had studied in France, and Switzerland, and the foreign teachers who taught pedagogy and psychology in the schools of Albania, helped to introduce Montessori's *self-development and self-action*, Fröbel's early childhood education, Rousseau's *global method* and free education, the *Functional method* of Claparède, Ferrier's *Education Nouvelle* and Dewey's *progressive education*. These all constituted the basis of pedagogy of that time thus confirming Levin's view (1998) that "countries are learning from each other".

Chapter five has illustrated how with the establishment of communism the application of these theories ended and 'the old school was criticized'. This example has reinforced Fullan's (1993) statement that "there comes a time in the cycles of societies where radical breakthroughs or destruction are likely to occur" and Popkewitz's (1987) argument "on the importance of *ideology* in shaping educational policy". This is exemplified in the 1946 Education reform in which the structure (length of studies) and the content of the normal school curriculum changed in line with the new ideology.

However, this thesis has revealed that the views of Albanian educators have oscillated. For a time the "old school" i.e. the Normal school was severely criticized and labeled as a "hypocritical and apolitical school", and its pedagogy was considered to be old and "stagnant in essence". It was recommended that teachers should be freed from *old prejudices* (i.e. old way of thinking). However, later it was appreciated for preparing good teachers and appraised for "having created a pedagogic tradition and its teachers were distinguished for their teaching skills".

Following World War II Albania sided with the Soviet Union. In chapter five several examples are provided to prove that siding with Soviet education was not a smooth transition and that Soviet leaning was not welcomed by Albanian educators, who were closely observed by the secret police. Preng

Gruda a former *normalist* was threatened when he expressed himself against the Soviet leaning of education. A more diplomatic way of opposition to the Soviet leaning was Sejfullah Malëshova's statement that "Albanian education should be impartial; it should not be only Marxist but pluralistic and should side with *both east and west*". It could be argued that this is not necessarily an indication of his dilemma in this regard but a diplomatic way to oppose the Soviet leaning of the communist government in order to avoid consequences for himself as he later did. Another example to prove this argument were the efforts of former students, who had studied in the schools in the West, who attempted to keep the "old pedagogy" alive and to share their knowledge with other Albanian educators. In the 1950s, Rousseau's book "Emile or on education" was translated by Sotir Papahristo and became a cause of concern for the communist regime. These facts suffice to support the argument that the Soviet system and its pedagogy were imposed rather than accepted. The communist ideology, along with the pressure put by the regime, overshadowed the pre-war ideas. In essence, the new pedagogy, which was named *socialist pedagogy*, meant indoctrination.

When Albania broke with the Soviet Union in the 1960s, it still continued to rely mainly on the Soviet education system and the Soviet pedagogy. The question to be asked is: "How was the Soviet model *recontextualized* in Albania?" Karsten (1994) argues that Yugoslavia and Albania developed their own education systems. The thesis has shown how Albanian education was struggling between the Russian and the Chinese model.

However, it could be argued that the divorce with the Soviet influence was only a façade. Several facts can be given in support of the argument: a) politically speaking Albania remained under the Soviet influence; b) the majority of literature that was coming into the country was Russian; c). the Soviet education system and the Albanian one had in common the communist ideology and the centralized system. The so-called *revolutionary triangle* with its three main pillars *learning – productive labour and physical education* and training which constituted the basis of Albanian education, was not to be found in other CEE countries. The teacher education curriculum was significantly affected as the time allocated to teacher preparation was shortened to only six months and its content was extremely politicized. The introduction of elements from the Chinese education system created a model for Albania, and was a deviance from the model common to other CEE countries. Professor Gaçe's comment (2000 interview), a former student in the USSR, that the Russian school was more open to the western theories and the Russian students got familiar with various theorists, is an evidence of this deviance. Another illustration in support of this argument is that the Dalton plan and individualized learning were taught in Russian schools. In contrast, John Dewey's progressive education was criticized by Albanian educators and labelled as "an Americanization of the Soviet school", while knowledge of Piaget and Vygotsky was very superficial.

Despite the strictness, chapter five has also provided evidence that some flexibility was created when the new leadership came on board in the 1980s following the death of Hoxha. At this time debates were initiated about critical and creative thinking in classroom practices. In a sense this simply was rhetoric. The philosophy of education was to train people with no such skills, only that the regime be perpetuated. The extreme isolation of Albania and its consequences as described in chapter five, in a certain sense had created the “bunker mind”, one which would not only allow for new ideas to come in but also opposed the ones that were floating around.

This bunker mind (mentality) had to wait until the political changes in 1990. Chapter six has illustrated the ways Albanian education opened to foreign models and experiences following Albania’s opening to the world. This openness was first expressed with the introduction of models such as Head Start, Reggio Emilia and Montessori, which were materialized through the introduction of the new teaching approaches which took into account the child’s learning needs and abilities. The re-training seminars that were organized made teachers familiar with the creative and critical thinking skills, ideas of an open society, and new teaching approaches which all enhanced pupils’ participatory skills in the learning process, Bloom’s taxonomy and so on and so forth. Although Bloom’s taxonomy may sound old-fashioned these days, it was unknown to Albanian educators. The same was true with the pre-service teacher education curricula. New subjects were introduced in the curricula of many universities and American and European theorists were made known to teacher educators. The British model of school-university partnership was introduced in the teacher education faculties. Moon (1999) calls this phenomenon an *interregnum* while I would rather call it a *conservation of ideas*, implying that they were retained and re-emerged once they gained ground.

This also indicates that the imposition of ideas influenced Albanian educators only in the conditions of extreme isolation and political pressure, which for half a century had cut them off from international education developments. Contacts with the outside world have led to a process of mutation. Albanian educators who were trained during the communist regime began to reflect on past experiences. The articles in the press and the interviews with them point to a reflection period which Professor Beqja calls “catharsis” (November 2002, interview).

Guiding Concept 5

With the exception of the post-war communist period, throughout the 20th century the content of teacher education is markedly influenced by global developments in teacher education.

Chapter three showed that Normal schools did exist in Albania but they were Greek and Turkish normal schools, *dar-yl-mualimin* and *didaskalion*. In this same chapter we have already discussed the beginning of Albanian language education and that Albanian teacher preparation schools date back in

the later part of the 19th century beginning with the Normal School of the Drita Association, the San Adrian College and the Normal School of Elbasan.

It is obvious that developments in teacher education during the period of Independence were significant. The number of normal schools increased. In the North of Albania a number of normal schools of the Catholic order were opened. In the early 1930s the Kyrias Institute and a number of American schools were also opened. The Normal school of Elbasan consolidated. According to Xhuvani it was no different from the normal schools in the Balkans. For the first time teachers organized themselves in Teachers' Leagues, which as Beattie (1997, p. 306) argues "emerged from periods of great national distress". These were not only a form of organization for teachers to defend their own rights but also a forum where they could discuss the content of school and exercise their own influence. For the first time in 1921 teachers were categorized according to their qualifications.

The analysis in guiding concept one has highlighted the importance of external influences on the development of teacher education in Albania. Chapters three to six provide a number of examples illustrating that Albanian teacher education has borrowed ideas from other countries in order to develop its national system. The question for Albania is: Have these influences been an *imposition* on or a choice from Albanian educators? To give an answer to this question we again need to go far back in history, taking account of Popkewitz's (1987) statement that "theories of pedagogy in teacher education are related to beliefs held by segments of society". The answer may be both. They were partly imposed and partly a choice. However, this is considerably related to the issue of political pressure exercised at certain points in history. For instance during the period of Rilindja Kombëtare there was no other alternative but to adopt the Turkish model at that time Albania was entirely under the Ottoman rule. The lack of Albanian schools at that time was a major disadvantage; it limited the number of people attending school. However, at the same time it was an advantage. Albanians, for the most part, had to study in western countries where they could get a good education. This fact also shows the tendency to rid itself of the Turkish influence and to look to the west. However, the Frashëri brothers, although they had studied in the schools of the Ottoman Empire, relied on western education systems in their educational activity. In the same way Parasqevi Kyrias relied on western models when she developed the Education Project.

Foreign languages illustrate this tendency. For instance in the school curricula in the Rilindja Kombëtare period the most common languages were English and French. During the period of Independence in addition to these German, Latin, Greek, and Italian were also taught. Through the help of foreign languages new educational ideas were borrowed such as Pestalozzi, Herbart's pedagogy, John Dewey's progressive education, Decroly's Les Centres d'inter^et, Functional method of

Clopar'ede and others were all translated from the languages which were the native languages of the various theorists.

Chapter four has pointed to the variety of pedagogic philosophies, which spread during the Independence period. For instance *Herbartianism*, which became the dominating pedagogy in the 19th century in Europe, was introduced in Albanian schools in the early part of the 20th century. The ways it was introduced have already been discussed in this chapter. It was later challenged by progressive education, a pattern similar to other countries (Herbst, 1989) which confirms what Popkewitz (1987) argues regarding educational ideas that "some come and others fade away".

These facts contradict Koburja's view (1999) that the introduction of the Herbartian pedagogy in Albania was a spontaneous development.

Chapter four has indicated the significant changes taking place in the classrooms of Albania in the 1930s. More emphasis began to be placed on the freedom of the child to learn by himself as a result of the philosophy of Maria Montessori. Decroly's *Les Centres d'intérêt* became popular and influenced the replacement of learning by rote.

As it has been already identified in chapter five, following World War II the same pattern common to all other CEE countries was adopted in Albania. The Soviet pedagogy became the dominating pedagogy. Academic subjects received first hand importance, a model also typical for other countries such as East Germany, which Terhart (in Moon 2001) has called "academisation" of teacher education. Pedagogic training of teachers was greatly distorted by the Marxist-Leninist ideology because one of the most important duties of the teacher preparation schools was to train teacher propagandists, teacher activists and teacher indoctrinators.

The closure of pedagogic schools, a process which Terhart (Moon, 2001) has called *pedagogization* which happened in Germany also took place in Albania. Pedagogic schools were abolished in 1991. Right after the demise of the communist regime, as already indicated in chapter six, Higher Pedagogic Institutes assumed university status and have the responsibility to prepare teachers for primary school (grades 1-4) and even pre-school teachers. This is a trend typical of the US (Popkewitz 1987, p. 2), Great Britain (Moon 2002, p. 10) and in a number of CEE countries following the political changes of the 1990s.

Professionalization of teacher education that has taken place in many countries, has also been going on in Albania through two main tracks: through the *prolongation of teacher education courses* and through *the introduction of new subject areas* in the teacher education curriculum. Chapter five has indicated that the course of study in the Higher Pedagogic Institutes was lengthened to three years and later to four years. Also a number of new subjects were introduced.

In recent years one of the issues that have provoked controversy as to the teacher education curriculum is the *balance between theory and practice* (Moon 2001). Chapter six has pointed out that this one was one of the main issues debated in the 1995 round table meeting and is directly related to the question “Are student teachers trained properly to meet the challenges in the new changing context”.

The variety of projects that have been implemented, to restructure teacher education, have brought about some changes. Currently, the structure of the teacher education curriculum in the Albanian universities, for the most part, seems to have approached, the components that Buchberger (1994 in Moon, 2001, p. 8) has identified to be common to most teacher education courses. They include:

- education studies/studies in educational sciences;
- academic/subject studies, termed as the Albanian terms *Basic subjects or basic formation*;
- studies in subject matter methodologies/subject didactics termed as; the Albanian term being *Professional subjects or professional formation*;
- Teaching practice or *Pedagogic practice* as it is called in Albanian.

The current movement going around Information and Communication Technology as a potential for the economic development of a country has also swept Albania. The curricula of almost all universities of Albania have included ICT in the curriculum. Now Albanian universities are becoming part of the network through the recently established distant education centres.

Despite the uncertainties around teacher education in Albania, the thesis has confirmed Moon’s argument (2003) that the education system and teacher education were accessible parts of the social system and that they could relatively quickly change to represent their own values. In this respect the history of teacher education in Albania resonates with the recent experiences in a number of countries.

Guiding concept 6

Towards the latter years of the twentieth century a wider number of interest groups has become increasingly involved in debates around the nature and quality of teacher education.

The thesis has shown that the interest in and support for teacher education has existed since the period of the Rilindja Kombëtare. Chapter three has indicated an outstanding interest in this regard. A major contribution has been made by the Albanian diaspora in Romania for setting up the Normal School of the Drita Association. Similarly, the opening of the Normal School to a great extent owes to the significant support of the Përparimi Association.

The analysis in guiding concept one has pointed to the significance of teacher education in the economic revival of the country. Subsequently, teacher education related issues have been on the

agenda of all Education Congresses that have taken place. However, they vary in focus and scope. For instance one of the main issues on the agenda of the 1909 Education Congress of Elbasan was the opening of a Normal School in Elbasan. The Lushnja Congress in 1920 addressed the issue of the preparation of teachers and the categorization of teachers based on their qualifications, the support that should be given for the professional development of teachers and the publication of the pedagogic review, "Arsimtari". The 1924 Education Congress addressed the teacher salaries and decided on setting up a Feminine Normal School. The Education Law of 1933 of the Ivanaj Reform paid special attention to the teacher qualifications and the status of teachers. Teachers trained in the Turkish normal schools were made redundant.

The thesis has indicated a change in the nature of debates with the changing of the political systems. For instance following World War II the debate was around the content of teacher education, which was eventually shown by the data in chapter five, to become increasingly politicized. The discussion has focused around getting rid of any "bourgeoisie way of thinking and relying solely on the Soviet experience and pedagogy. The Normal School of Elbasan and the "old pedagogy" became the target of criticism. In this context teacher training became top priority for the communist government. The aim was not only to train new teachers for Albania's schools but to provide them with a different mindset in order to serve the new regime. During the time of the revolutionization of school in 1969 the discussion centered on further strengthening the political bias of the teacher education curriculum. Isolation of Albania following the break with communist China and the tendency to build socialism while being self-sufficient increased the debate among Albanian educators for the extreme politicization of the teacher education curriculum. As we have already observed in chapter five, in all the training programmes the ideological component was of paramount importance.

The political changes of the 1990s and the introduction of the market economy gave a new dimension to these debates. The people's awareness about the quality of education prompted criticism of schools and aroused public debate around the quality of teachers. The research has illustrated a number of debates in this regard. The January 1995 round table in the Ministry of Education addressed the need for the restructuring of the teacher education curriculum by establishing a better ratio between academic and professional subjects and improving the quality of pedagogic practice. Rather, proposals were made to set up a Faculty of Education for the preparation of teachers in response to what Fullan (1994, p. 105) argues, that "teacher education is the worst problem but the best solution".

Appendix 1

Notes

Abdyl Frashëri (1839 – 1892) – an outstanding Albanian politician and patriot, born in the village of Frashër. Later parliamentary deputy representing the region Ioannina in the Ottoman Parliament in 1877.

Aleksandër Stavri Drenova (known as ASDreni, 1872-1947) - a progressive writer and teacher who contributed to raise the national awareness

Aleksandër Xhuvani (1880-1961) an outstanding educator, doctor of philology. He had completed his secondary education studies in Chatillë (Macedonia) and the faculty of Philology in Athens (1902-1906). He also taught Albanian in the Arbëresh San Miter Corona College in Calabria, south of Italy. He contributed to the Albanian pedagogy with his two books on Pedagogy (1926, 1933 and 1937)

The Alphabet of Istanbul (Alfabeti i Stambollit) – the alphabet that was approved following the decision of the Prizren League in 1879. It was based on the Latin alphabet and supplemented by some Greek letters and other special letters which were not to be found in the Latin script such as the compound letters *dh*, *gj*, *th* or *ç* etc. The alphabet was prepared by Sami Frashëri based on the principle that each letter represented a sound.

Anatolia – name of the Balkan Peninsula during the Ottoman Empire

Arbëneshi – a village, nowadays a suburban area of Zara, a city on the Dalmatian coast, Croatia, called „Arbanasi“ and „Borgo – Erico“ founded by Albanians who left Albania during 1926 – 1927, 1733, from the villages of Brisk, Ljarje, Shestan, between Ulcinj and Tivar. The Albanian language is still retained among the old generations

Arbëresh – the name for Albanians who left Albania for Italy after the death of Scanderbeg in the 15th century and in subsequent years. The Arbëresh currently live in the south of Italy and have preserved their Albanian language and culture.

Babë Dudë Karbunara – an iluminist and itinerant teacher who played a very significant role in Albanian language education

Bogdan P Hazhdeu - A Romanian philologist who taught in the Normal School of “Drita Association” - born Feb. 16, 1836, Cristinești, Bessarabia, Russian Empire [now in Ukraine] died Aug. 25, 1907, Câmpina, Rom. Scholar and archivist who was a pioneer in Romanian language and historical studies. After studies at the University of Kharkov, Hasdeu settled as a high school teacher and librarian at Iași (1858), where he collected and published a great number of ancient Slavic and Romanian documents for the first time in *Arhiva istorică a României*, 4 vol. (1865–67; “The Historical Archive of Romania”)

(The) Corfu incident (Incidenti i kanalit të Korfuzit) – An event which took place on October 22nd 1946 in the Corfu Channel, close to the Albanian coast. One of the warships of the British navy was severely damaged because of a mine. Immediately an Albanian ship went to help but the British refused it. The

British government then raised this issue in the Security Council and the Albanian delegation denied the involvement of the Albanian government in this matter based on the argument that the Albanian government neither possessed such mines nor specialist to carry out such an act. Albania was however found guilty. The British government consequently blocked the gold seized by the Germans during World War II

Costandinople (Kostandinopojë) – the capital of Bizantine Empire during the XV century

Chamëri – Region in the southernmost part of Albania inhabited by Albanians, which lies along the Ionian Sea as far as the mountain chains that divide it with Ioannina, with an Albanian population of over 70-80 % both Moslem and orthodox. The Conference of Ambassadors in 1913 decided to give this land to Greece. At the end of World War II, 25.000 Moslem *chams* were obliged to flee to Albania and sought asylum

cham – the name of population living in or coming from Çamëri

Efendi – Turkish word which is used of respected and knowledgeable men

Elena Gjika (or *Dora d'Istria*) 1829-1888) – An outstanding Romanian writer of Albanian origine active in the European Cultural movement who strongly supported the Albanian National movement against the Ottoman rule

Epir – a region and one of the states in south of Illyria located as far as the Vetetima Mountains (Akroeraunet antike) as far as the Ambrakya Gulf, the mountains of Pindi in the south and the Ionian Sea in the west. In Greek the word Epir means land

Fan Stilian Noli (1881-1965) – An outstanding leader of the Albanian patriotic movement and the leader of the first democratic government in Albanian during 16.IV.1924 – 24.XII.1924

Gaspër Beltoja – an Albanian educator from Shkodra, who studied in the normal school of Klagenfurt and who was active in the development of Albanian education in the 1920s. He developed a primary school curriculum for grades 1-4 and adapted the book “Pedagogjia teoritike, which he translated from German. He was the director of the Normal School of Shkodra in 1917.

Gjergj Kastrioti (known as *George Kastriot Scanderbeg*) (1405-1468) – National Hero of Albania, who led the Albanian army in the war against the Turks during the XV century for 25 years

Gjergj Fishta – Albanian man of letters, outstanding poet, known as the “Homer of Albania” because of his great poetry.

Gjok Shqiptari – an Albanian patriot and teacher during the National Awakening who was active in the teaching of Albanian language

Hasan Tahsin Filati (1811-1881) – an outstanding iluminist and erudit, educated first in Ninat, Saranda; later in the best *madrases* in Istanbul. For his remarkable abilities he was appointed the Rector of the University of Istanbul

Hil Mosi (1885-1933) – an outstanding educator and writer who studied in Klagenfurt, Austria during the years 1902-1908. He was a teacher in the Normal school of Elbasan during the years 1911-1912 and in the 1930 the Minister of Education

Informative Bureau or *Cominform* – An international organization of communist parties, founded and controlled by the Soviet Union in 1947 and dissolved in 1956. The Inform Bureau published propaganda touting international communist solidarity but was primarily a tool of Soviet foreign

policy. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was expelled in June 1948.

Ismail Qemali (1844 - 1919) - an outstanding figure of the Albanian National Awakening and the first prime minister of independent Albania. He raised the flag on 28 November in Vlora, south of Albania, the day when Albania was proclaimed an independent country.

Jani Vreto (1822 - 1900) - one of the outstanding leaders of the National Awakening movement and the first author of Albanian textbooks, actively involved in defining standard Albanian language and the opening of Albanian schools

The Kanun of Lek Dukadjin (*Kanuni i Lek Dukagjinit*) – customary code which was developed in the XIV century.

King Zog (1895 – 1961) Ahmet Zog came from a northern Albanian family in Mat and several times Prime Minister of Albania. He fled to Yugoslavia following the 1924 revolution and came back to power with the support of the Serbs. In 1928 he proclaimed himself King of the Albanians and headed the Albanian State until the Italian invasion in 1939.

Komisia Letrare - a committee which was set up in Shkodër on 1 September 1916 during the Austrian-Hungarian occupation comprising Albanian linguists and writers and aimed at reaching out a consensus over the standardisation of Albanian following the Congress of Monastir. It also functioned as a pedagogic scientific committee for textbooks and the solution of various educational problems.

Kostandin Kristoforidhi (1827-1895) An outstanding illuminist who made an important contribution to the development of Albanian education and culture. After attending the secondary school “Zosimea” in Ionnaina, Greece, later in a seminary in Malta, he worked as a teacher in Tunizia.

Koto Hoxhi – (Kostandin, 1824-1895) An outstanding illuminist, co-author of several books, member of The Special Commission of Istanbul where the issue of the Albanian alphabet was discussed.

Kryemësues – vice principal

Kultusprotektorat – (in Latin – *cultus* – religion, and *protector*), meaning protector of religion. This was part of the Austrian-Hungarian policy and later of Italy in South East Europe which implied the right given by the *Sublime Porte*, via concessions, to protect Catholic institutions and believers in Albania. During the Austrian-Hungarian expansion, a number of schools were opened such as the Saverian College (1877) in Shkodra. The schools were headed by the Austria-Hungarians. A number of scholarships were offered for Albanians to study in normal schools of the Austria-Hungarian Empire. Its educational policy was conquered by the Italian one.

Kumtari Arsimuer – A periodical of the Supreme Education Council of Tirana. It began to be published in March 1921. It appeared monthly and addressed history of education and didactic issues. It also provided information on educational developments in other countries.

Kurs gjimnazial – Course at the gymnasium level

League of Nations (Lidhja e Kombeve) – An International Organization, which was created by the winning powers during World War I in order to bring peace and cooperation among countries. It comprised 44 countries. Albania was accepted in the League of Nations in 1920. However, it did allow other countries to interfere with the internal affairs of Albania.

Luigj Gurakuqi (1879 – 1925) – An outstanding educator who made a great contribution in the

development of Albanian education. He was the director of the Normal School of Elbasan during the Provisional Vlorë Government. He studied in San Miter Corona College in Calabria, south of Italy, then carried his higher studies in the Faculty of Science in Naples.

Marin Barleti – (known as *Barletus*, 1460 – 1512) Albanian humanist and historian of the XV-XVI Century, from Shkodra district. He is the author of “The history and works of Scanderbeg” published in Rome (1508-1510) in Latin and translated into German, Italian, French, English, Polish, Albanian

7 Mars – Teacher’s Day. A folk festival of teachers and pupils which is celebrated since 1960. This day was meant to commemorate the foundation of the First Albanian schools of Korçë on March 7, 1887. It promotes the best traditions of the first Albanian school, of teachers and of all educators

Mati Logoreci (1864-1941) – An outstanding educator during and after the Ottoman rule. He also wrote textbooks for pupils attending the newly opened Albanian schools

Mësim provë – model lesson

Metropolit (of Korçë) – The head of the Orthodox religion for a certain division. It was under the Patrikana of Istanbul until the creation of the Albanian State

Multiage-aged classes (klasa kolektive) – a way of organizing teaching in the lower cycle of elementary school in which students of grades 1 and 3 and 2 and four are combined to form one class while preserving the structure of the curriculum, most common in rural areas

Naim Frashëri (1846-1900) – famous Albanian poet, writer and educator of the National Awakening. In 1855, together with his brother, Sami Frashëri, he attended the Greek “Zosimea” gymnasium. Afterwards he worked in the Turkish administration and came back to Albania because he got infected with TB. He wrote many textbooks, which were later used in the Albanian schools

Naum Veqilharxhi (1767-1846) the first ideolog (ideologu) of the Albanian National Awakening. He and his family had emigrated to Moldavia (Kishiniev) before 1806 where he took part in the Romanian uprising of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire. Later he worked as a lawyer in Braile, where he got associated with many Balkan illuminists

Nikolla Nacho – (1841-1913) A distinguished educator who was active in teaching the Albanian language amongst the Albanian colonies in Romania. He was the principal of the normal school of Bucharest

Ottoman Empire – created in the 13th -14th centuries when Osman I, a Muslim prince, and his successors, known in the West as Ottomans, took over the Byzantine territories of western Anatolia and southeastern Europe and conquered the eastern Anatolian Turkmen principalities. The Ottoman Empire disintegrated at the end of World War I; the center was recognized as the Republic of Turkey, and the outlying provinces became separate states.

Papa Kristo Negovani (Harrallambi, Kristo) (1875 – 1905) Educator who made tremendous efforts to teach the Albanian language. He was assassinated by the Patrikana of Istanbul.

Pashko Vasa – (1825 – 1892) An illuminist, poet and patriot who contributed to raising national awareness of Albanians and the creation of an association for the teaching of the Albanian language. He lived in Istanbul for a number of years and held high positions in the Turkish administration. From

1883 to 1892 he was the general governor of Lebanon.

Patrikana of Istanbul – The Centre of the Orthodox Church responsible for the autocephalous churches of the Balkans.

Peace Conference (1919-1920) Conference of participating countries in World War I to impose the conditions of peace on the countries who had lost the war and to divide the colonies.

Përlindja e Shqipërisë (Përlindj' e Shqipëries) – Pedagogic and literary Review of the teachers of Korcha, which first appeared in 1922 and kept teachers abreast of the new developments in the field of pedagogy and standard Albanian language.

Rilindja Kombëtare Shqiptare – period in the Albanian history beginning in the early part of the XIX century when the Albanian nations was in the making.

Rumë – Christian population in the Balkans, different from Roma (gypsies)

Rumeli - Name given to the Balkans for “country/place of Romans” because the Byzantine called themselves “Romans”

Salih Cheka (1892-1925) – An outstanding educator from Chamëri; author of Albanian textbooks and a publicist. He continued his higher pedagogic studies in Besancon, France and taught pedagogy and psychology in the Normal school of Elbasan. He was the principal of the school during the academic year 1921-1922

Salih Gjuka (1876-1925) – A Kosova Albanian important educator and methodologist of Albanian language. He carried his secondary school studies in Scopje and then his higher studies in law in Thesaloniki

Sami Frashëri (1850 –1904) - Philosopher and patriot, one of the main leaders of the political and cultural movement in Albania at the end of the XX century, author of a number of books.

Sejfullah Malëshova – An Albanian outstanding educator, educated in France and Soviet Union, Minister of Education in 1945. His progressive ideas caused his exile in a remote village in the south of Albania

Sotir Peci (1833 – 1932) - An outstanding figure of Albanian education in the early part of the 20th Century; Minister of Education in 1920

Subleme Porte – The Sultan's Palace in Istanbul. Term came to mean the *Ottoman government*

Vatra – An association founded by the Albanians living in USA which had its magazine with the same name. It was published by Albanian emmigrants in the US since the late 19th century.

Vilayet - Administrative division in the Ottoman Empire

Vlach – Population coming from old Balkan tribes which was romanized. Nowadays it is dispersed in several areas of the Balkan region while still retaining their distinctive peculiarities.

Vlachi – The region populated by the Vlachs

Young Turks – A Turkish revolutionary nationalist reform party, officially known as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), whose leaders led a rebellion against the Ottoman sultan and effectively ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1908 until shortly before World War I.

Zef Jubani (18180-1880) – an outstanding iluminist, who advocated secular and national education; hence excommunicated by the Church

Albanianism (in Albanian *shqiptaria*) – A strong feeling for Albania

Albanology – The study of the history of language, literature, culture, geography, economy and the people of Albania

Albanologist –expert on Albania

Arbëresh (of Italy) – Albanians who settled in the XV century and onwards in south of Italy following the Ottoman invasion. Their number is estimated to be around 200.000. They preserved the language and culture as well as the Cult of George Kastrioti, Scanderbeg. The Arbëresh of Greece are called *Arvanitas*. Until 19th century this population comprised 1/3 of the population of Greece

Bajraktar – The hereditary leader of a *bajrak*. Term literally means “standard bearer”. *Bajrak* – A political union of Gheg clans under a single head

Bey – Ruler of a province under the Ottoman Empire

Communist education– education during the communist period which aimed at developing the personality of “new man” in which Marxist-Leninist outlook of different aspects of life was the main focus.

Communist morale– principles, norms and rules which determine attitude and behaviour in socialist and communist countries

complementary department – (in the Kyrias Institute) preparatory classes which enabled pupils to attend higher classes

comprehensive normal school (shkolla normale të plotë) – normal schools in which elementary and secondary level were in one

çaushë (rreshterë) – a low military title in the Ottoman army which lead a squad of 10-15 people

democratization of education – opening up of education to the mass of the population

depoliticize the curricula – remove political propaganda

Djathësitë (right hand subjects) - The range of subjects which include art, crafts, physical education and gardening

Education Directorate (Drejtori Arsimore) – Regional Education Office, which was established for the first time in 1917. There were four altogether; in Shkoder, Berat, Gjirokastër and Durrës. This term is currently used to refer to the Local Education Authority

filo Albanian – of a person who is fond or supportive of Albania. (Similarly filo Greek, filo Italian)

fletërrufe – (Chinese, *dacinbao*) – Meaning *as quick as lightening* i.e. open criticism of an individual, a group of individuals or an institution can be criticized by means of a chart, educative, political and ideological form of work with the masses of people which were spread as a new element in the wall press following the Speech of Enver Hoxha in February 6th 1967. It was widely used in schools to ensure communist education of pupils and teachers and to criticize any shortcoming which would hinder the progress of the revolutionarization of school life and to get rid of everything that was progressive. Criticism was posted on the wall so that everybody could see.

Frang (FR) – Albanian currency roughly equal to 3 USD today or 1/20 of one Napoleon (1 Napoleon = 8000 Lek today, or 50 USD)

Gatimore/klasa gatimore/ Gatitore classes – Preparatory class for the Normal school

Gheg (geg) – person living in the northern and central Albania. Hence the name *gheg region* - Northern and Central Albania known as *gegeria*

Gymnazial college – Secondary comprehensive school

Hatib – Turkish title in the Moslem faith

Higher Pedagogic Institute – Post-secondary level school set up after the Russian models, in several districts of Albania to train elementary (5-8 grade) teachers. Initially they were two-year schools, then three-year schools and four-year schools and in 1991 changed into universities

Hospitum – (German loan) Passive pedagogic practice (student teaching) in which the student observes an experienced teacher in order to acquire teaching skills.

Hoxhë (pl. *hoxhallare*) Moslem priest/s who preache/s Islam.

Idadije – Secular Turkish boarding secondary schools equal to the senior middle school level (*gjimnaz i larte*). According to the rule of 1869 there had to be such a school in every 1000 villages. Instruction lasted for three years. School management consisted of one headmaster and three assistants, one secretary, one doctor, and two educators (*edukatore*)

Iluminist - an advocate of and fighter for iluminism

Iluminism (*iluminizëm*) - enlightenment

Imam - Arabic word meaning *leader* (in Albanian *prijës*) who preaches at the time of prayer in Mosque

Institute of Pedagogic Studies – (*Instituti i Studimeve Pedagogjike*) – Institution under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education and Science of Albania founded in 1970 which deals with educational studies and the Albanian pedagogic thinking

Internat – dormitory

Iptadije – (in Arabic *ibtida*) – a secular elementary school which was established in the second part of the 19th century following the Tanimatti reforms. Together with the preparatory class it lasted 4 years. It was different both in form and content from the *mejtep*. Teachers who taught in this school had studied in the Normal schools (*dar-ul-mualimin*) or other schools that were equivalent. This school would allow the pupils to continue studies in the *ruzhdijs* school (junior secondary school)

Korona (crowns) - Currency which was used in the northern and central part of Albania during the Austrian-Hungarian occupation

Lek – Albanian national currency unit consisting of 100 qintars. In early 1991, the official exchange rate was L. 6.75 to US\$ 1; in September 1991, it was L 1.25 = US\$ 1, in January 1992 the exchange rate was L 50 = US\$ 1, while in June 2002, L 120 = US\$ 1.

Local Education Department (*Seksion i Arsimit*) – Local Education Authority during communism, now called *Drejtori Arsimore* (Education Directorates)

Madrise – Moslem School where pupils would mainly learn religious subjects. It trained teachers and clerics on Islam. The *madrise* had two levels: the secondary school level and the higher level (University level). In Albania there were only secondary level *madrises*. For their higher studies people could go to Egypt, Qatar, Lybia, Jordan etc.

Mejtep (arabic *maktab* – place where people write) - Primary school in Albania during the Ottoman rule and the early part of the 20th century for Moslem children. The school was led/guided by a religious cleric called *Mulla* or *Hafez* and allowed pupils to attend the *madrise*. These religious

schools had no curriculum and were closed down when Albanian schools were opened. The same was with *Sibjan mejtep* (in Turkish *sibyan mektebi*) types of *mejtep* schools in villages.

Mësim prove - Model lesson where other teachers attend to gain experience

Mexhidë - Turkish currency used in Albania during the Ottoman invasion, a subdivision of the Turkish Lira, which had a higher value. The daily expenses were made with *mexhide* or *grosh* (subdivision of the Turkish Lira).

Mëhallë - Turkish school (junior level)

Muderrizë – Islamic cleric, knowledgeable in the Moslem religion, which showed his level of knowledge of the Islamic faith and can be compared to the mid level of the scientific degree in theology.

Napoleon – Albanian currency used during King Zog's rule. One Napoleon banknote was equal to 1 golden Napoleon. One napoleon of that time today is equal to 8,500 leke or 58 USD. A teacher was initially paid 5 USD and could earn up to 9 napoleon or 696 USD after several years of teaching experience, which was a very good salary

(the) New man (Njeriu i ri) - the type of man who possesses qualities of the person required by the communist society such as love of the Communist party, spirit of sacrifice etc.

Normalist (pupil) - a pupil of the Normal school of Elbasan

Passive pedagogic practice – pedagogic practice in which student teachers only observe an experienced teacher teaching a class with the aim to learn teaching skills

Patriotic education - education of pupils with love for their country

Pedagogic Cabinet (*Kabinet pedagogjik*) - Regional Educational Institution during the communist period.

It dealt with the ideological and political training of teachers, identification, dissemination and advocate of best teaching practices of teachers, with the organization of the scientific information and the upgrading of teaching methods. It used to organize symposia on educational issues and innovations in education

Pedagogic school - Teacher Training college at secondary school level of four year duration, based on 8-year school, for future teachers of primary schools or kindergartens. Attached to the pedagogic schools are mentor schools (*ushtrimore*) in which third and fourth year pedagogic school pupils did their pedagogic practice

Pleqësi – Supreme executive and legislative body of the rural clan system, in which social relations were determined according to norms of the local customs. It had the right to convene meetings and prepare the agenda, to take care of public order and manage conflicts

Plotore – primary school in Albania of six year duration before 1944

Political person - A person loyal to the communist party

Pseudosocialist – A person who claims to be a socialist but with different attitudes and behaviour

Qytetënore (*qytetëse*) – junior cycle of secondary school in Albania before the communist period

Rreth metodik (*komision lëndor*) - subject area commission, a group of teachers belonging to the same subject who get together on a regular basis, and set schedule to discuss teaching related issues of common interest by teachers of the same subject area

Ruzhdije (school) - (in Turkish *rüşdiye* meaning *reason, honour*) – Turkish junior secondary schools, (or *progimnaze moderne*) opened in the 19th century in Istanbul, in the four vilayets which prepared

pupils aged 10-15 to work for the government or attend full secondary school. They were designed after the European model and were under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education. In every 500 villages there was a *ruzhdiqe* school

Seksioni i Arsimit – state educational structure during the communist period which dealt with educational and cultural issues at the district level. It was formed in 1943.

Stazh – (stage, French loan) one-year internship for students who had finished school. Upon completion students had to sit for the final exam and receive their final accreditation

Stazhier – the student in internship

Semi gymnasium – lower level of secondary school

Teqe – Moslem religious centre

Toskë – name for people living in the south of Albania

Toskëria *Tosk region*, south of Albania known as

Unike – 7 year school including lower and senior cycle

Ushtrimore school – mentor school where pupil teachers would do their internship

Working and peasant class control – a powerful political and ideological tool used to strengthen the leading role of the working class in the Albanian socialist system which was considered as the main force of the “revolution” ensuring the dictatorship of the proletariat, inhibiting the emergence of revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism

Note: The majority of the definitions are taken from the dictionary of Pedagogy, published in 1983, and the Albanian Language dictionary, hence they carry meanings of the totalitarian regime.

Appendix 2

The Four Albanian Vilayets During The Ottoman Empire (Circa 1878)
Map: Courtesy of Mr. Idr Hamiti, Kosova Information Centre, London.

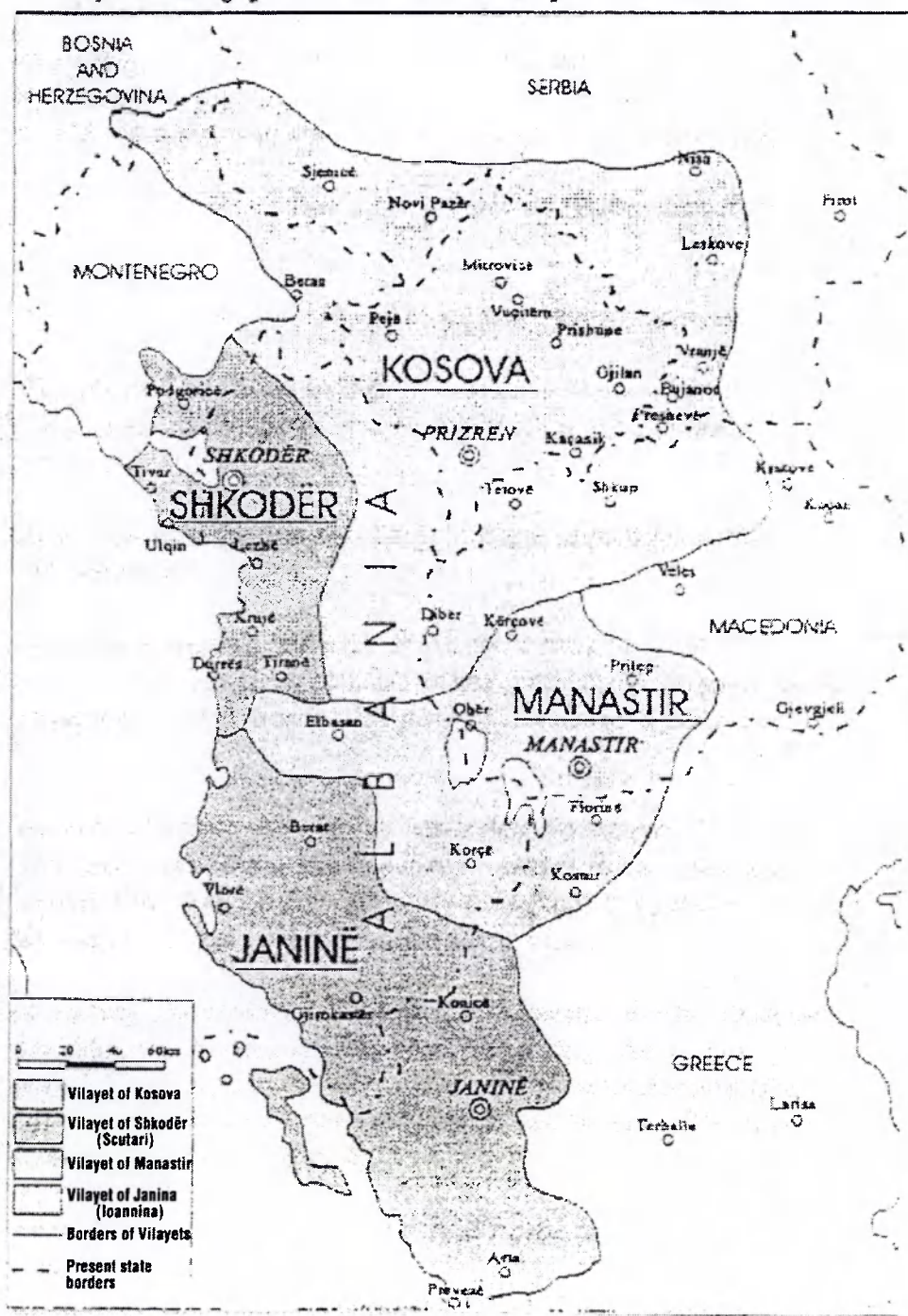


Fig. 1

Certificate of the First Albanian Language School

D. 18/467

N^o 173 / 18/467

Num. i _____

Num. i klasit _____

MESONETOREA

NDE KORÇE

DEFTESË

Nxenesi _____ nga _____ vjeç _____

si depoj mesimet te keti viti nde klaset te _____ te

kesaj Mesonetoreje. Ede si u pyjet ne provimet e pyesme motit mori

No _____ te perputhje ne gjde mesimet _____

Ede nde provimet epergjdme nde fant te motit u perpeq emori No _____

te perputhje _____

Ede nde e do mesim epe e epe kegtu :

Kendim Gjgje e kronetore _____	Bemasje _____
Mesim i emporuare _____	Turqiet _____
Numeratore _____	Frenpiet _____
Istori _____	Gerqiet _____
Heritragoje _____	Kenge _____
Baskroqe _____	Te ekrutara _____
Gjdesi _____	Vmonastike _____
Kafsekroqe _____	

Te sjatet eti ne Mesonetore ia _____

Te mos arktura gjde mone _____

Kryesi' e Mesonetores _____

Kryemesonesi _____

Nde Korçe me _____ 189 _____

Fig. 2

Number of teachers prepared in the Normal School of Elbasan

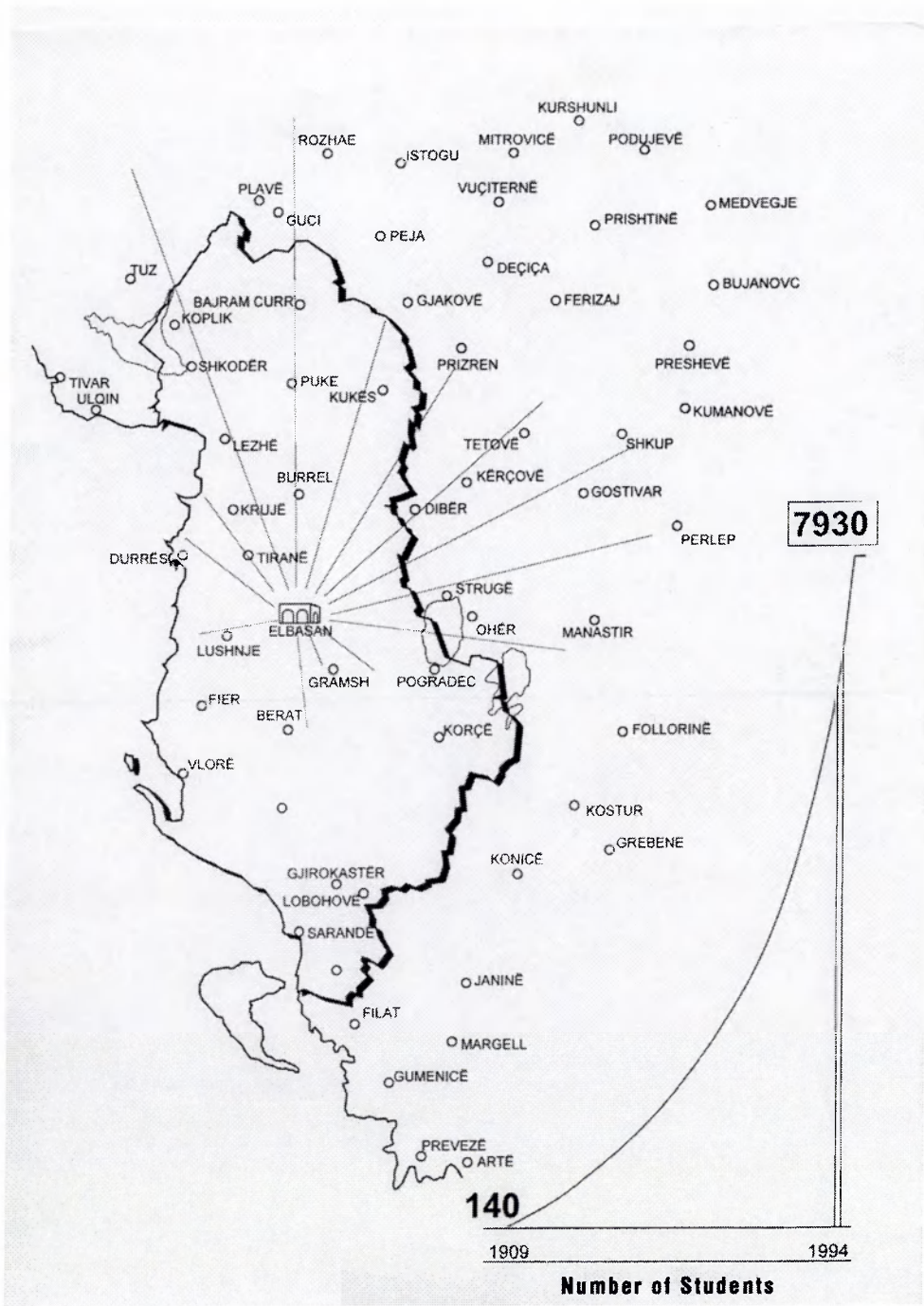


Fig. 3

ETHNIC ALBANIA



Fig. 4

The Education system proposed by Parasqevi Qiriazhi (Kyrias)

Age								P R I V A T E S C H O O L S
	Higher schools							
23 22 20-21	Philosophy	Medicine	Law	Literature	Science	Normal schools	Mix ed	
	Secondary school							
20 19 18 17 16 15 14 12-13	Literature Branch			Science Branch			Not mix ed	
	Elementary schools - junior					Schools for the handicapped	Mix ed	
12 11 10 9 8 6-7								
6 5 4	Kindergartens						Mix ed	

(Dishnica, 1998, p 53)

Fig. 5

Borders of CEE countries in 1938, 1939-1941 and 1943



Fig. 6

Warsaw Pact States post 1960



Fig. 7

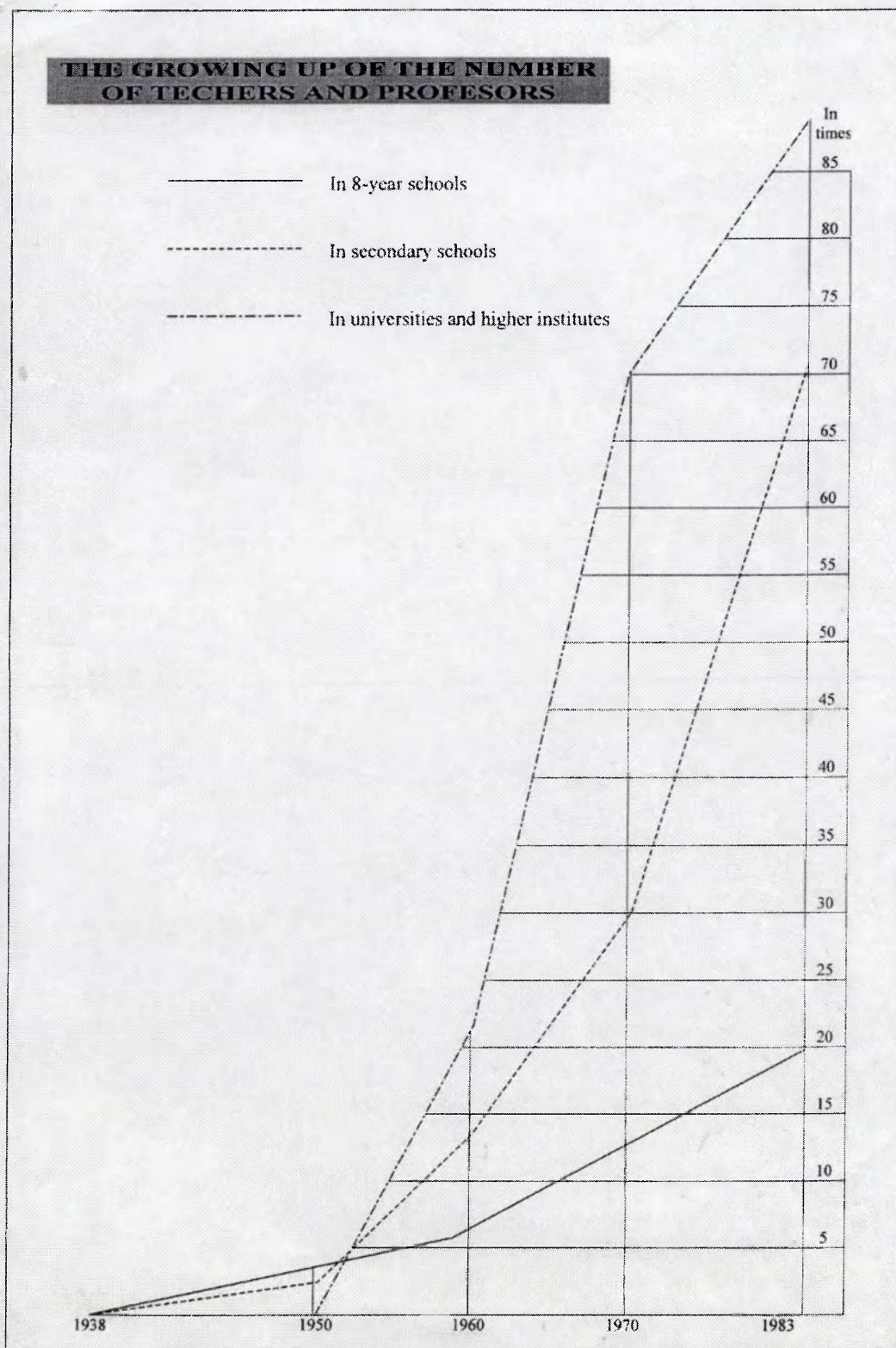


Fig. 8

NUMBER OF TEACHERS DURING
THE SOCIALIST PERIOD

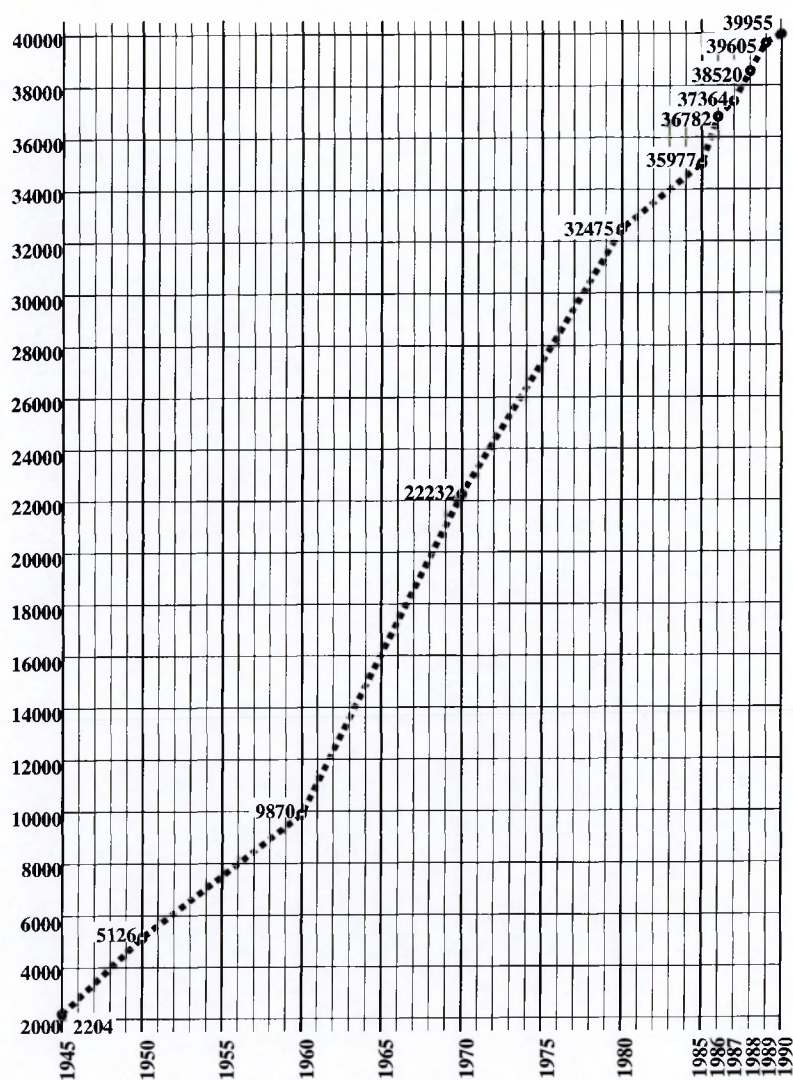


Fig. 9

EDUCATION SYSTEM IN ALBANIA

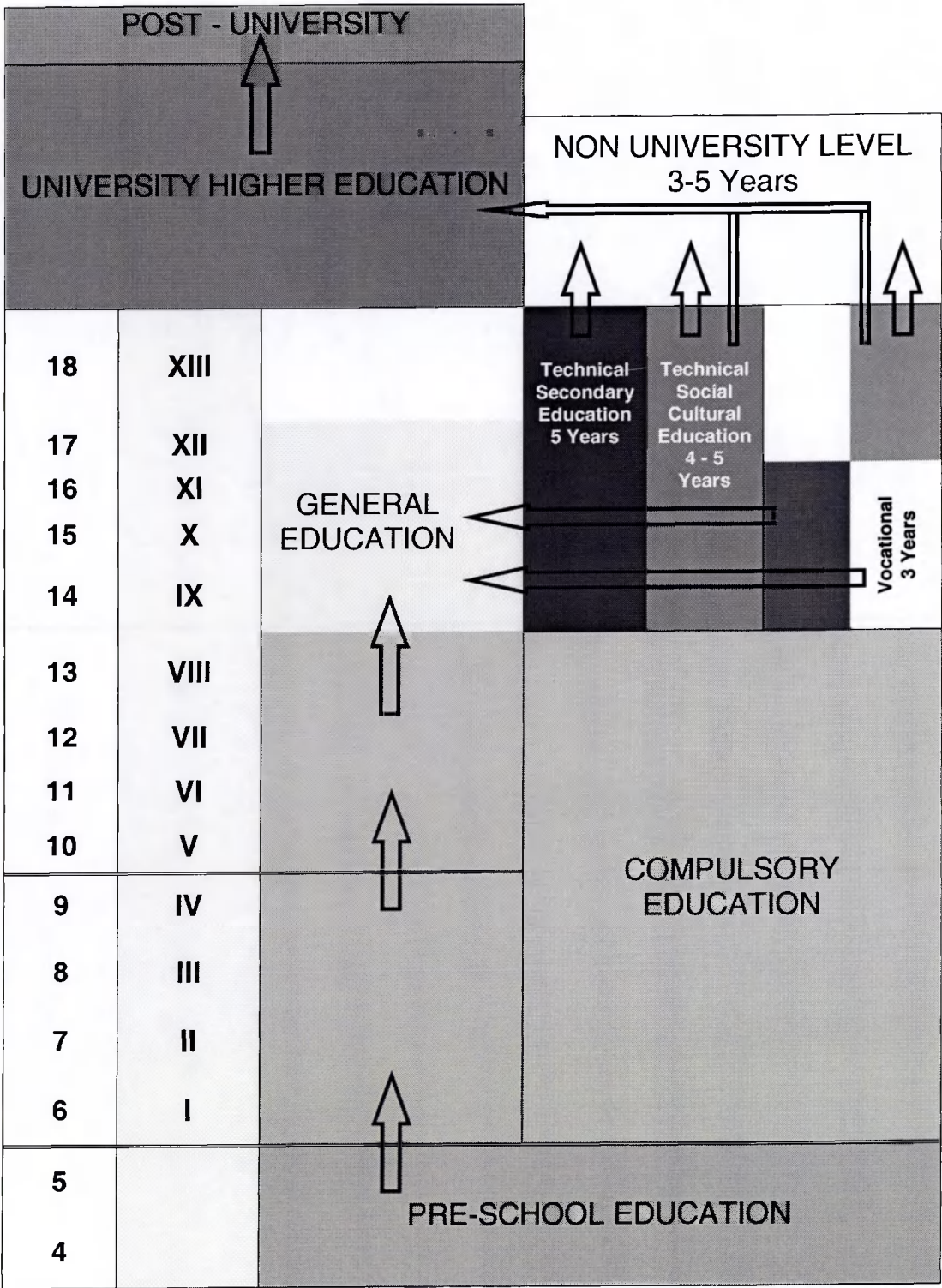


Fig. 10

UNIVERSITIES WITH TEACHER EDUCATION FACULTIES IN ALBANIA

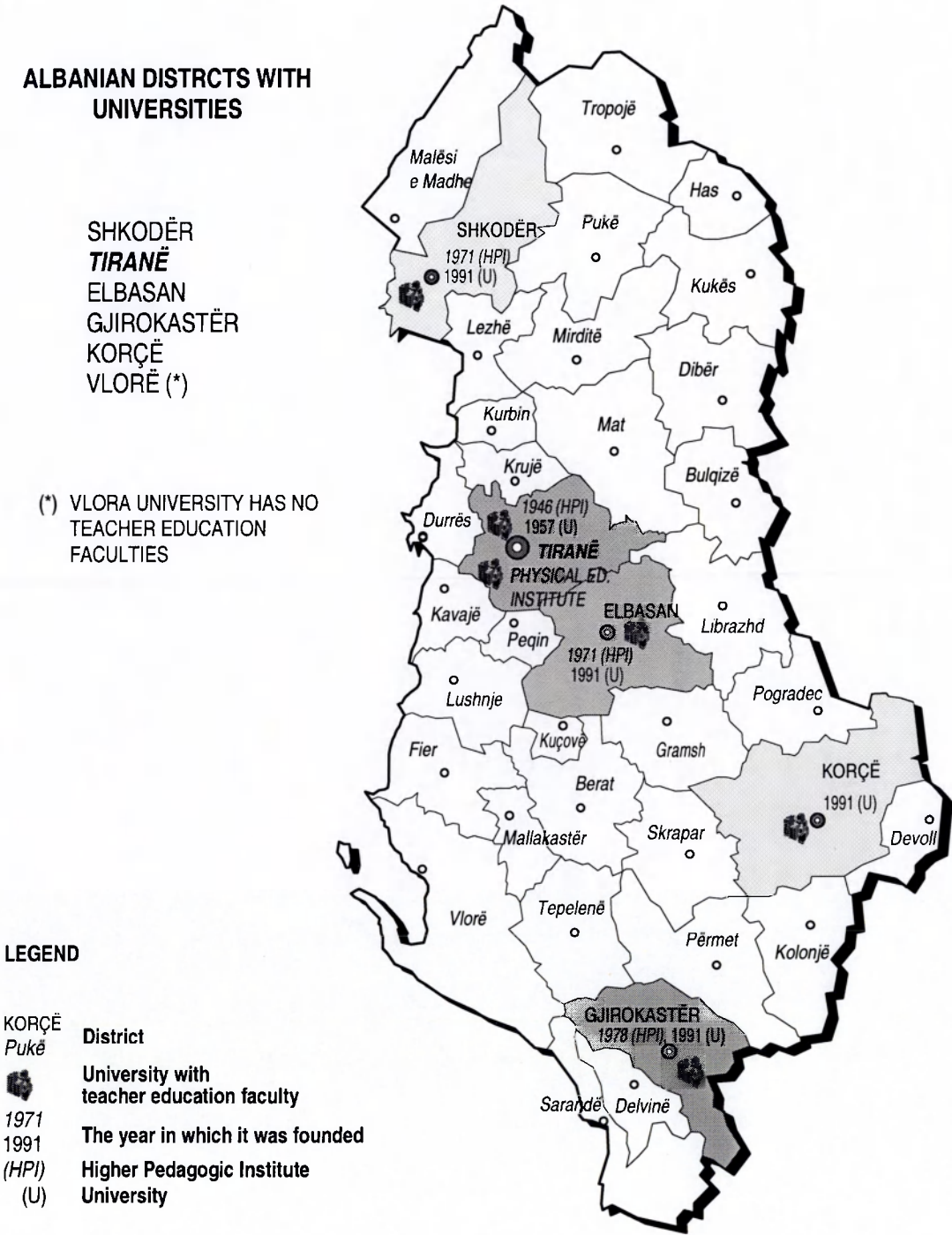


Fig. 11

NUMBER OF TEACHERS DURING
THE TRANSITION PERIOD

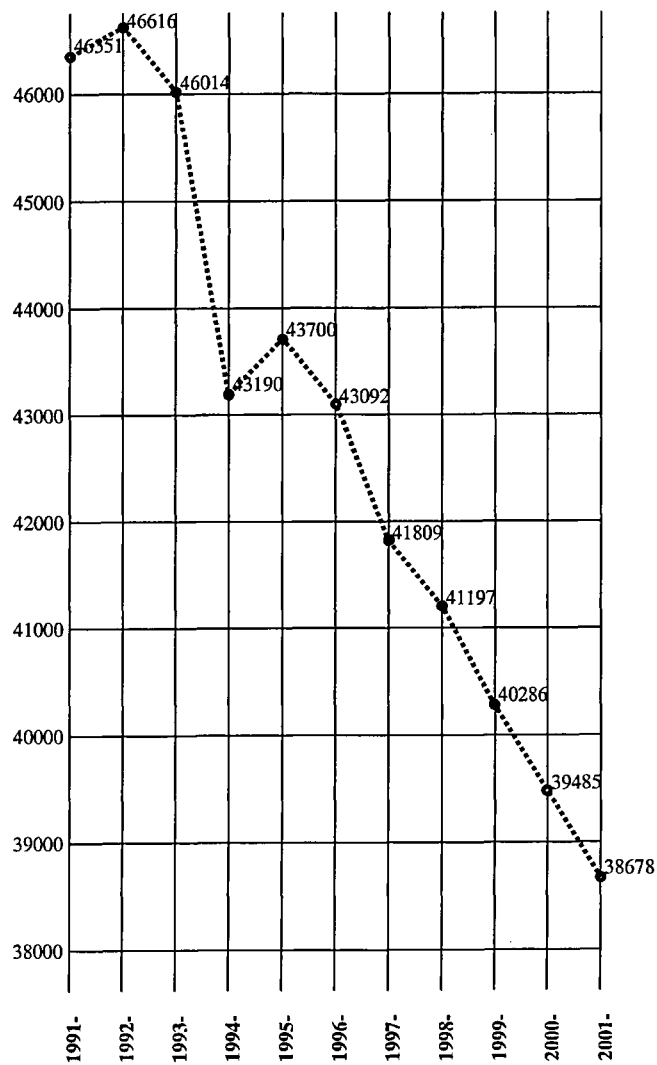


Fig. 12

Appendix 3

Interviews

Prof. Bedri Dedja , Professor of pedagogy (died in April 2004)	1998
Genc Trëndafili , Teacher in the Pedagogic School, Elbasan	1997, 1999
Prof. Hamit Beqja , Professor of pedagogy (now retired)	1999, 2002
Prof. Hysni Myzyri , historian	2000
Dr. Islam Dizdari , Former Professor in the University of Shkodër (now retired)	1999
Dr. Jetmir Alicka , former head of the teacher-training department in the Local Education Directorate of Tirana 1992-1996; currently director of a private school	1999
Dr. Marjana Sinani , researcher in the Pedagogic Research Institute; currently its Deputy Director	1997
Dr. Milan Pol , Professor at the Masaryk University, Brno, the Czech Republic	2000
Prof. Musa Kraja , Professor of Pedagogy, Tirana University (retired) (2000)	1998, 1999
Dr. Njazi Zylfiu , Professor in the University of Prishtina	1999, 2000
Dr. Njazi Kazazi , Professor in the University of Shkodra	1999, 2001
Nos Deljana , former director of the Institute for the Perfection of teachers (retired)	2001
Dr. Petrit Muka , former head of the Teacher Training Department in the Institute of Pedagogic Studies, Tiranë	1998, 1999
Prof. Pëllumb Gaçe , Professor of pedagogy (now retired)	1997, 1998
Dr. Reshit Koburja , former teacher in the Pedagogic School of Elbasan (now retired)	1999
Prof. Sotir Pahparisto , (Former student in Jean Jack Rousseau Institute, Switzerland during the years 1932-1935, director of the Institute “Nana Mbretneshë”, translator of several educational books (died in 2002)	2000
Prof. Shefik Osmani , professor of Pedagogy (retired)	1998, 1999

Note: Names arranged in alphabetical order

Questions asked during the interviews

Where to start, which periods to address?

Which people can I talk to about history of teacher education?

What are the key issues of the Enlightenment?

How were teachers prepared during the Ottoman yoke?

What led to the establishment of the first teacher training college in Elbasan? Why in Elbasan?

Why was it called a normal school?

What literature to look at?

Parasqevi's Education project was western oriented. What hindered its implementation?

Were there any other informal structures for the preparation of teachers?

What were some of the obstacles for teachers during the National Awakening period?

What was their status during independence?

Were there other schools for the preparation of teachers in addition to the normal school of Elbasan?

Why were there schools of the catholic order in the north of Albania?

Was secularism a movement led by political motives only or was it a consequence of the French influence? What was its influence?

What does Albanian pedagogic thinking consist in?

What changed in the Albanian classrooms after Herbart was introduced?

What was the significance of the foreign influence? How was Herbart imported into Albania?

What did Herbart mean by saying "bones are mine, the flesh is yours"?

Was the Ushtrimore school influential in the widespread of the Herbartian pedagogy? How?

What does hospitim mean?

How was progressive education and the "new school" introduced?

When was 'edukata e re' introduced? What changed in the school?

How has style of pedagogy developed in Albania according to politics?

What was Aleksander Xhuvani's role in the development of pedagogy?

Were there Greek and Italian influences on Albanian education/teacher education?

In what way was common system in education significant in Albania?

What was the argument between Fishta and Ivanaj about?

Fishta was against private schools. Why?

What are some of the key points of the 1946 Education Reform? What literature to look at?

There is talk about Yugoslav influence on education? How was it materialized?

In what way was the Normal school tradition lost after 1945?

Central control of Albanian education was an important determinant of Albanian education system. What were some of the education problems alleviated by the central control?

The Institute for the Perfection of teachers was Russian model or an Albanian invention?

Following the break with Soviet Union, why did Albanian education continue to rely on Russian pedagogy?

Albanian school was mostly influenced by Soviet education; also from the French system, why was this, because of central system of education, politics?

In 1968 the generation of the normal school teachers retired; what was the consequence?

Why were the Higher Pedagogic Institutes opened in other cities?

What were some of the consequences of the intellectual and geographical isolation?

Was Piaget known to the Albanian educators?

Why were higher pedagogic Institutes changed into universities in 1991?

Was there any tension between the University and the pedagogic School (normal school) after 1990?

General data

Albania (Shqipëri)	The name Albania is derived from an ancient Illyrian tribe, the <i>Albanoi</i> , forbears of the modern Albanians. The Albanian name for their country is Shqipëria.
Geographic Setting:	Situated in the Southwestern region of the Balkan Peninsula bordering the Adriatic Sea and Ionian Sea (362 km coastline); Albania is bordered by Greece to the Southeast, by Montenegro, to the Northwest (part of the federal Republic of Yugoslavia), by Kosova to the Northeast (currently a UN administered territory) and by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia to the East (1.094 km of borders).
Physical geography:	Mostly mountainous (28%) and hills (47 %); small plains (25%) along the coast; Lowest point: Adriatic Sea at 0 m; Highest point: Maja e Korabit (Golem Korab) 2.753 m.
Area:	28748 sq.km
Administrative and Territorial Divisions:	The country is divided into 12 Regions/Prefectures as well as 36+1 Districts (the Municipality of Tirana has a district status). There are 65 Municipalities and 309 Communes.
Number of inhabitants:	3.387 327 (41% urban, 59 %rural)
Socio-Demographic Structure:	42% of the population live in the urban areas; while 58 % live are in rural areas
Major cities:	Tirana (capital 700.000)
Age structure and population characteristics:	Age 0-4: 9.70 %; 5-15: 22.6 %; a total of 48.86% of the population under 24 years old. Birth rate: 19.47 births per 1000 population. Infant mortality rate: 41.33 deaths per 1000 live births. Population of working age (16-65): 62%. (Institute of Statistics).
Population density:	118 per sq.km.
Ethnic composition:	97.96 % ethnic Albanian; 1.85 % Greek (nearly all in the Gjirokastra and Saranda districts); Macedonian 0.15 %; small

numbers of others (Serbs, Montenegrins near Shkodra], Vlachs, Roma) 0.04 %.

Religion:	Muslim 70%; Albanian Orthodox 20 %; Roman Catholic 10 % (statistical Yearbook 1991). Religion is not a divisive issue in Albania.
Language:	Albanian, Tosk dialect
Literacy rate:	88 % in 2001
Currency:	Lek (Approx: 133 Lek to 1 USD)
GDP	GDP per capita was 1.094 USD in 2000, of which agriculture accounted for half (51 %)
Percentage of GDP spent on education:	2.7 % (2000 est.), down from 4% at the start of transition and 3.7 % in 1995. Public spending on education as a percentage of total public spending: 9.7 % in 1999 (down from 11.4 % in 1995, when it was fairly close to the OECD mean of 12.6 %). During the 1990, total spending on education decreased by 35 % in real terms, enrolments by 15 %, and spending per student by 20%.
Inflation rate [1999 est.]	0.5 (consumer prices)
Unemployment:	14.4 % in 2001
Levels of education governance:	Three. (1) Central level [Parliament; Parliamentary Committee of Education and Culture; Council of Ministers; Ministry of Education and Science; Institute of Pedagogical Research]. (2) Local Level: Districts, and Municipalities or Commune Councils; District Councils and their departments for Education and health]. (3) School level: [Principal, deputy Principal(s), teachers' councils, parents' councils, school boards]

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